

DEPARTAMENT DIDÀCTICA I ORGANITZACIÓ ESCOLAR

ORGANIZATIONAL REGULATIONS OF TRANSMISSION. A STUDY OF ADULT SECONDARY EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS IN BUENOS AIRES

OSCAR L. GRAIZER

UNIVERSITAT DE VALENCIA
Servei de Publicacions
2008

Aquesta Tesi Doctoral va ser presentada a València el dia 24 d'octubre de 2008 davant un tribunal format per:

- D. José Gimeno Sacristán
- D. José Beltrán Llavador
- D. Roger Hewitt
- D. Harry Daniels
- D. Fernando Roda Salinas

Va ser dirigida per:

D. Fernando Marhuenda Fluixà

©Copyright: Servei de Publicacions
Oscar L. Graizer

Depòsit legal:

I.S.B.N.:978-84-370-7301-9

Edita: Universitat de València
Servei de Publicacions
C/ Artes Gráficas, 13 bajo
46010 València
Spain
Telèfon: 963864115



Universitat de València
Facultat de Filosofia i Ciències de l'Educació
Departament de Didàctica i Organització Escolar

ORGANIZATIONAL REGULATIONS OF TRANSMISSION.

A study of adult secondary education institutions in Buenos Aires

Tesis doctoral presentada por: **Oscar L. Graizer**

Dirigida por: Dr. Fernando Marhuenda Fluixá



Universitat de València
Facultat de Filosofia i Ciències de l'Educació
Departament de Didàctica i Organització Escolar

ORGANIZATIONAL REGULATIONS OF TRANSMISSION.

A study of adult secondary education institutions in Buenos Aires

Tesis doctoral presentada por: **Oscar L. Graizer**

Dirigida por: Dr. Fernando Marhuenda Fluixá

Valencia, 2008

*A la memoria de mi viejo, Lito, y de mi amigo y colega Rudy,
cada uno a su modo incitó mi trabajo intelectual*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of tables	10
List of networks	11
List of Appendices	11
Agradecimientos	13
1 NOTAS INTRODUCTORIAS	15
PART I	
2 CONTEXTO TEÓRICO DE LA INVESTIGACIÓN	25
2.1 Perspectiva teórica y una primera definición del objeto de estudio	25
2.2 Primeras aproximaciones a la descripción de la escuela como organización	28
2.3 Código pedagógico y organización escolar / del campo de control simbólico	35
2.4 Código y cambio	45
2.5 Discurso pedagógico y organizaciones del campo de control simbólico	47
2.6 Identidades pedagógicas	52
2.7 El objeto de estudio redefinido a la luz de la teoría	55
3 RESEARCH STRATEGY	57
3.1 Introduction	57
3.2 Research questions	60
3.3 Analytical description of the research areas towards a school topology	60
3.4 Sample	67
3.4.1 Location of the study	67
3.4.2 Selection of the schools	67
3.5 Data gathering strategy	71
3.5.1 Sources	71
3.5.2 Data gathering procedures	72
3.5.3 Construction of the procedures	73
3.6 Pilot study	78
3.6.1 Aims of the pilot study	78
3.6.2 Sample of the pilot study	79
3.6.3 Procedure	79
3.6.4 Overall results of the pilot study	81
3.7 Main study fieldwork (data gathering process)	81
3.7.1 Stage I: Contact with the authorities	81
3.7.2 Stage II: Selection of the schools	82
3.7.3 Stage III: Directors' semi-structured interview and teachers questionnaire	87
3.7.4 Stage IV: Semi-structured interview for teachers and CI and students' questionnaire	88
3.7.5 Stage V: Testing results	89
3.8 Summary of the sample	90
3.9 Data analysis	91

4.EMPIRICAL CONTEXT AND GENERAL FEATURES OF THE SAMPLE	97
4.1 A brief history of CENS (Centros Educativos de Nivel Secundario) and general features	97
4.2 CENS current official regulation	100
4.3 General characteristics of the schools in the sample	105
4.3.1 General attributes of the heads	106
4.3.2 Characteristics of the sampled students	107
4.3.3 Summary of characteristics of the sampled students	116
4.4 Teachers' characteristics	117
4.4.1 Teachers' attributes	117
4.4.2 Pedagogic biography of the teachers	119
4.4.3 Work context of the teachers	121
4.4.4 Summary of the general characteristics of the sampled teachers	121
 PART II	
 5 TRANSMISSION	123
5.1 Introduction	123
5.2 Official curriculum and its CENS recontextualization	124
5.2.1 Heads' views on curriculum	130
5.2.2 Teachers' views on transmitted contents	136
5.2.3 Summary on curriculum transmission (Official and school documents, heads and teachers)	142
5.3 Pedagogy	144
5.3.1 Directors' views on pedagogy	145
5.3.2 Teachers' views on pedagogy	147
5.3.3 Summary on pedagogy	155
5.4 Evaluation	157
5.4.1 Heads' views on evaluation	157
5.4.2 Teachers' views on evaluation	160
5.4.3 Summary on assessment	163
5.5 Students' responses on transmission	165
5.5.1 Instructional discourse: students' evaluation of the subjects	165
5.5.2 Instructional discourse: students' views on assessment and criteria	169
5.5.3 Regulative discourse	172
5.5.4 Summary of students' view of transmission	176
5.6 Discussion on transmission	178
 6 EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL INSTITUTIONAL RELATIONSHIPS	189
6.1 Introduction	189
6.2 External Relations	190
6.2.1 External relations with the State	191
6.2.2 External relation with the CI	193
6.2.3 External relation with other institutions	198
6.2.4 Summary of external relations	199

6.3 Internal institutional relations	201
6.3.1 Classificatory principles	202
6.3.2 Summary on students classificatory principles	221
6.3.3 Framing criteria and school social relations: control, reproduction and direction of the CENS	223
6.3.4 Students' view on social relations and control	232
6.3.5 Summary on framing criteria and school social relations	235
6.4 Synopsis to compare findings by CENS at institutional level	237
6.5 Discussion on institutional relations	239
 7 PEDAGOGIC IDENTITIES	 255
7.1 Introduction	255
7.2 CENS aims and expectations (teachers and students)	257
7.3 Effects	261
7.3.1 CENS rationales and effects on heads' views	261
7.3.2 CENS rationales and effects on teachers' views	264
7.3.3 Summary on Effects	269
7.4 Identity construction / production	271
7.4.1 How does the school achieve its effects?	271
7.4.2 Satisfaction and success of the school effects	273
7.4.3 Teachers subject contribution	276
7.4.4 Summary on identity construction / production	279
7.5 CENS institutional identity	280
7.6 Discussion on pedagogic identities	282
 8 POSSIBILITIES OF CHANGE	 295
8.1 Introduction	295
8.2 Summary of the presence of "change" in other areas of research	296
8.3 Improvement of CENS achievements	299
8.4 Teachers' views on possibilities of change	303
8.4.1 Dissatisfaction and change by gender	308
8.4.2 Dissatisfaction and change by time in the CENS	308
8.4.3 Dissatisfaction and change by teaching area	309
8.4.4 Dissatisfaction and change and teachers' appointment to the CENS	309
8.4.5 Dissatisfaction and change by CENS	310
8.5 Discussion on change potential	316
 PART III	
 9 FINAL ELABORATIONS	 323
9.1 Introduction	323
9.2 The sources towards an internal language of description of educational organizations from Bernstein's work	323
9.3 Elaborations towards an internal language of descriptions of educational organizations. Notes for a theoretical model	337
9.4 Elaborations towards an external language of description of educational organizations	341
9.5 Final comments	348
 Bibliography	 351
 Appendices	 359

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1	Frequency of CENS by curriculum orientation	83
Table 3.2	Frequency of CENS by type of Counterpart Institutions	83
Table 3.3	Counterpart institution and curriculum orientation by CENS	83
Table 4.1	Counterpart institution and curriculum orientation by CENS	105
Table 4.2	Number of Students (total) and gender by CENS	105
Table 4.3	Distribution of teachers by CENS	106
Table 4.4	Gender composition of sampled students	107
Table 4.5	Gender distribution by CENS	108
Table 4.6	Age of the students	108
Table 4.7	Age by CENS	109
Table 4.8	Age by gender	110
Table 4.9	Type of school in previous education	110
Table 4.10	Year of leaving secondary school by gender	111
Table 4.11	Employment frequency	112
Table 4.12	Frequency of students by type of job	113
Table 4.13	Type of job by gender	114
Table 4.14	Type of job by employment	114
Table 4.15	Students' occupation by age	115
Table 4.16	Students Occupation by CENS	115
Table 4.17	Leaving secondary school by type of job	116
Table 4.18	Gender by subject area	118
Table 4.19	Teachers distributed by age	118
Table 4.20	Teachers' age distribution by CENS	119
Table 4.21	Frequency of teachers by years of service in teaching	120
Table 4.22	Teachers by years of service in adult education	121
Table 5.1	Summary of directors' responses on curriculum	135
Table 5.2	Distribution of responses about autonomy	138
Table 5.3	Responses discussion about subject by CENS	140
Table 5.4	Responses on literature about teaching contents	150
Table 5.5	Responses on literature about pedagogy	151
Table 5.6	Type of appointment	153
Table 5.7	Informal forms of teachers' appointment by CENS	154
Table 5.8	Distribution of answers for subjects areas by CENS	166
Table 5.9	Distribution of answers to the question "Why do you get most out of those subjects?" by gender	167
Table 5.10	Distribution of answers to the question "Why do you get most out of those subjects?" by CENS	168
Table 5.11	Absence of subject by CENS	168
Table 5.12	Students' advice to succeed in evaluation	169
Table 5.13	Students' advice to succeed by CENS	170
Table 5.14	Change of assessment by employment	170
Table 5.15	Assessment change by occupation	171
Table 5.16	Responses on type of change in the forms of assessment	172
Table 5.17	Ideas about social life and behaviour by CENS	173
Table 5.18	Type of ideas students receive from teachers	174
Table 5.19	Ideas given by age groups	175
Table 5.20	Ideas given by occupation	175
Table 6.1	Students' categorization of "good teacher" by gender	202
Table 6.2	Students' categorization of "good student" by gender	211
Table 6.3	Students' categorization of "good student" by CENS	212
Table 6.4	Students responses for reasons of dropping out	220
Table 6.5	How well teachers know students' life	233
Table 6.6	How well teachers know students' life by CENS	233
Table 6.7	Students' view on teachers knowledge about their life	234
Table 7.1	Students' motives for starting studies in CENS	259
Table 7.2	Main emphasis of CENS effects for heads and teachers by CENS	271

Table 8.1	Synopsis of main findings discussed	296
Table 8.2	Responses frequency for dissatisfaction	304
Table 8.3	Responses frequency for change	305
Table 8.4	Frequency of answers for difficulty to change	307
Table 8.5	Analysis of the variables for satisfaction and change	308
Table 8.6	Dissatisfaction and change by time in the CENS	308
Table 8.7	Distribution of teachers satisfaction and change by subjects-area	309
Table 8.8	Dissatisfaction and change by informal appointment	310
Table 8.9	Dissatisfaction and change by CENS	310
Table 8.10	Distribution of "D/K responses" for "relation teachers/CI" by CENS	311
Table 8.11	Distribution of "D/K responses" for "director/CI" by CENS	311
Table 8.12	Issues to be improved by number of teachers per CENS	314

LIST OF NETWORKS

Network 5.1	Aims for student assessment	161
Network 5.2	Focus of the assessment	162
Network 6.1	CENS relation with the CI (Heads)	194
Network 6.2	Classification of students (Heads' criteria)	206
Network 6.3	Dropout sources	218
Network 7.1	Heads' Rationale (R) / Effects (E) of the CENS	262
Network 7.2	Teachers' Rationale (R) / Effects (E) of the CENS	264
Network 7.3	Subject contribution (teachers)	278
Network 8.1	Improving achievements (teachers)	301

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix I	List of CENS in the City of Buenos Aires	360
Appendix II	Research Instruments	363
Appendix III	Description of the networks for analysis	402

Agradecimientos

La primera que puso su empeño y su confianza para que me lance a la aventura de realizar esta tesis de doctorado fue mi “maestra”, la Prof. Alicia Camilloni. Sin su apoyo, consejo y amistad este trabajo nunca hubiera sido posible.

El agradecimiento para con el Prof. Basil Bernstein será insuficiente. Me enseñó, guió y supo cuándo hacer uso de la jerarquía y cuándo permitirme la irreverencia necesaria para producir conocimiento.

Debo agradecer la orientación brindada por el Prof. Whitty y la Prof. Power en la reformulación del modo de exposición del escrito.

Sin el apoyo (de múltiples formas y tipos), compañerismo, amistad y supervisión del Dr. Fernando Marhuenda Fluixá esta tesis no hubiera sido terminada. Mi gratitud para con él excede el marco de este trabajo.

Debo mencionar el apoyo financiero brindado por el Ministerio de Educación y Cultura de la Nación Argentina que facilitó los viajes entre Buenos Aires y Londres. Al British Council en Argentina por haberme otorgado por dos años consecutivos la “Chevening Scholarship”, a la Fundación Antorchas que financió un año completo de mi estadía en Londres. A la University of London por otorgarme el Overseas Research Students Award por tres años consecutivos.

Mi estadía en Londres fue sostenida en la amistad de Moira, Nigel, Iman, Stavros y Roger. Desde no muy lejos, siempre cerca, Pablo de Marinis. En Buenos Aires mi familia y mis amigos fueron los que soportaron y me acompañaron este largo proceso.

Quiero mencionar especialmente y agradecer, no por la mera formalidad del caso, a los directivos, docentes y estudiantes de los CENS donde hice mi estudio empírico. No han sido meros objetos de estudio. He estado y estoy allí, esta tesis es otra manera de aportar.

Mi agradecimiento y reconocimiento a María Gil Araujo que diseñó el interior del libro para su impresión, y ha hecho legibles y accesibles las figuras, redes y cuadros.

Violeta, Mariel y Alejo, en orden de aparición, gracias.

1. NOTAS INTRODUCTORIAS

La tesis que aquí se desarrolla tiene como principal propósito contribuir a la elaboración de un lenguaje de descripción específico de organizaciones del campo de control simbólico, construido a partir de la teoría de Basil Bernstein en el contexto de “una sociología para la transmisión de conocimientos” (Bernstein, 2001, 368).

El procedimiento por el cual se realizó la elaboración antes mencionada se configura en la relación recursiva entre el lenguaje de la teoría y la realización de un estudio empírico. El marco teórico brindó las bases y orientaciones generales para la definición del objeto de estudio y para el diseño de la investigación. Por su parte el estudio empírico se constituye en el terreno donde, por un lado, es posible probar cómo opera la teoría para la comprensión de un determinado recorte de la realidad y, por otro lado la investigación es fuente para la reelaboración de la teoría. A su vez, el trabajo empírico y la producción de modelos de comprensión requieren de un método, de unas reglas y de unas prácticas que sean capaces de producir “traducciones” controladas entre aquello que se estudia y la teoría (Bernstein, 2000; Capítulo 7; Moore, 2001).

Los productos finales de la tesis son: una discusión y elaboración teórica y una elaboración teórico-metodológica, para el estudio de organizaciones educativas.

El estudio empírico se realizó en siete instituciones educativas de nivel secundario de adultos de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires. Este trabajo permitió, a través de un diseño metodológico específico, la producción de una conceptualización tanto sobre el objeto de estudio cuanto sobre el proceso de construcción de la descripción.

En términos de la teoría bernsteiniana, se pretende describir las formas de regulación externa e interna en la realización del código pedagógico en las escuelas estudiadas. En esta descripción se contemplan las formas de expresión del código en prácticas pedagógicas y los principios de orden social que las regulan, sus relaciones con el Discurso Pedagógico Oficial y, más específicamente, identificar las tensiones en la realización local del Discurso. Estas configuraciones se expresan en las formas de control y relaciones de poder que dan orientación y sentido a los significados producidos a nivel organizacional, tanto en relación con las identidades pedagógicas creadas como con los potenciales conflictos y espacios de cambio producidos en dichas tensiones. En este sentido, a la vez que describir la modalidad de código de las escuelas (en sus valores externos e internos), se comparan dichas realizaciones y se las estudia bajo la perspectiva de su relación con el Discurso Pedagógico Oficial. En esta tarea, las formas que este discurso adquiere a nivel organizacional se estudian en función del orden social regulado por la tensión con el Discurso Reglativo Específico de la organización, en tanto contexto de reproducción.

El escrito se estructura en tres partes: la primera, compuesta por los capítulos 2 a 4, expone los contextos teórico y empírico, así como la estrategia metodológica de la investigación. La segunda parte presenta un análisis y discusión de los datos obtenidos en el estudio empírico, capítulos 5 al 8, en función de las cuatro áreas de investigación definidas en la estrategia metodológica (transmisión, relaciones institucionales, identidades pedagógicas y posibilidades de cambio). La tercera parte se compone del último capítulo (9), donde se despliegan las elaboraciones finales de la tesis, de carácter teórico-metodológico.

El trabajo que aquí se presenta es el resultado de un largo, y en cierto sentido discontinuo, proceso que ha tenido características peculiares. Para su comprensión quisiera incorporar algunas notas sobre el contexto en el cual fue producido. Explicitar los contextos y “biografías” de los modos de producción pueden ser de utilidad para la lectura.

En agosto de 1995 llego a Londres para realizar una estancia durante dos meses, en la cual trabajaría con el Profesor Basil Bernstein para el estudio de su teoría. En ese momento me encontraba preparando mi proyecto de tesis doctoral para ser presentado en

la Universidad de Buenos Aires. Él me había aceptado sólo por ese lapso como un estudiante externo para un “*special course*”. En la carta de presentación adjuntaba mi proyecto de tesis y algunas consideraciones sobre el uso de su teoría que pretendía profundizar. En aquel momento mi área de trabajo académico era la Didáctica y mi área de trabajo profesional era la educación secundaria de adultos y la formación profesional.

En octubre del mismo año el Profesor Bernstein me propone realizar mi tesis de doctorado bajo su supervisión en el *Institute of Education de la University of London*. Su propuesta tenía una condición y fue directa: debía descartar mis “pretensiones didácticas y normativas” para posicionarme en la sociología de la educación, ser capaz de describir y comprender para luego “si quedan ganas” ponerse a diseñar *curricula* de adultos. Acepté. Y tuve que hacerme de apoyo financiero para semejante proyecto.

Hasta mayo de 1996 diseñamos la estrategia metodológica y los instrumentos de indagación. Retorné a la Argentina para el trabajo de campo y, de vuelta en Londres, hasta mediados de 1998 realizamos el análisis de los datos y comenzamos las discusiones sobre cómo conceptualizarlos. Aquí, al igual que en la mayor parte de la exposición de la tesis utilizo la primera persona del plural ya que, con una frecuencia y sistematicidad de dos encuentros semanales de supervisión y orientación personalizada, no puedo arrogarme singular e individualmente la totalidad de la tarea. De todos modos, es de alguna manera inevitable que la autoría y responsabilidad final recaiga en el tesista. Pero, como lo saben todos aquellos que han sido estudiantes del Profesor Bernstein, la investigación bajo su supervisión ni es un trabajo totalmente individual ni es solitario. Sin su orientación y enseñanza, el aprendizaje del oficio de investigador, la comprensión de su teoría y la posibilidad de teorizar (dentro de los límites de mi propia capacidad) no hubieran sido factibles.

La selección del campo sobre el cual realizar la investigación, la educación secundaria de adultos, fue una decisión tomada, por un lado, por razones autobiográficas; es el campo donde me incorporé a la actividad de enseñanza, donde me desempeñé en funciones técnicas en el Estado y era el campo sobre el cual pretendía reflexionar. Por otra parte, al Profesor Bernstein le interesaba como campo de aplicación y prueba de su teoría, particularmente en América Latina, donde él ya había tenido experiencias

anteriores y pretendía prolongar la relación intelectual. Así fue que, en julio de 1996, hizo su única visita a la Argentina para participar como invitado especial del II Congreso Internacional de Educación: “Educación, Crisis y Utopías”, organizado por la Universidad de Buenos Aires. En dicha visita, además de su participación en el congreso, aprovechó para supervisar el trabajo de campo y conocer una de las escuelas donde realizamos el estudio.

En la segunda mitad de 1998 comencé con la escritura de la tesis y con intentos de conceptualización sobre los hallazgos. Hacia comienzos de 1999 y por razones personales, entre otras puedo señalar dificultades financieras para prolongar mi estadía en Londres, me veo obligado a retornar a Argentina y terminar allí la escritura con una supervisión “a distancia”. Durante el resto de ese año avanzo hasta obtener un primer borrador que el Profesor Bernstein consideró “aceptable” para poder encarar la escritura definitiva de la tesis.

El año 2000 me “sorprende” con serias dificultades laborales en mi país, en el contexto de lo que fue luego la crisis económica, política y social más importante después de la culminación de la última dictadura militar (1976 – 1983), y también con dificultades en el intercambio con el Profesor Bernstein debido al agravamiento de su condición, que culminaría con su fallecimiento el 24 de septiembre de 2000. Así fue que esta tesis no pudo ser presentada para su evaluación bajo la supervisión del Profesor Basil Bernstein.

Luego de algún tiempo logro restablecer comunicación institucional con el *Institute of Education de la University of London*, y soy aceptado como su estudiante por el Profesor Geoff Whitty conjuntamente con la Profesora Sally Power. Ellos me brindan importantes orientaciones y sugerencias sobre el modo de exposición del escrito, que me toma algún tiempo realizar, para la posterior presentación a evaluación. Cuando me dispongo a cerrar el trabajo, consulto sobre las formalidades administrativas para volver a registrarme como estudiante de doctorado del *Institute of Education*, lo cual me habría permitido aprovechar de la orientación final de mis nuevos supervisores; así sucede que para poder inscribir la tesis para su evaluación, se me requiere el pago de un arancel totalmente fuera de mi alcance.

Fue así que luego de muchos, variados y difíciles intercambios administrativos, y la consecuente suspensión de la entrega de esta tesis ante la *University of London*, a finales del año 2005 decido presentar la tesis a ante la Universidad de Valencia donde, con el apoyo invaluable del Dr. Fernando Marhuenda, finalmente director de esta presentación, logro la culminación de la tesis para su evaluación formal e institucional. La supervisión del Dr. Marhuenda se debe a múltiples razones, quisiera destacar el hecho de que él ha conocido las diferentes instancias por las cuales transcurrió la tesis, su conocimiento de la educación de adultos, y su interés en las relaciones entre los desarrollos en la didáctica y los estudios sobre organizaciones educativas (Marhuenda, 2000).

De algún modo este proceso y su cierre se ha configurado en una “asignatura pendiente” personal, como lo es lograr el certificado de nivel secundario para muchos de los estudiantes de las escuelas que han participado de la investigación.

Espero que el/a lector/a sepa comprender la necesidad de hacer explícitas las condiciones de este largo proceso que comenzó hace ya trece años. A la vez que pretendo que opere como advertencia sobre algunos aspectos concretos de la investigación. El trabajo de campo fue realizado en 1996, por lo cual se utilizan datos contextuales de la Argentina de aquel momento. De todos modos, cabe señalar que aunque la situación en el país ha cambiado (no es aquí el lugar donde explayarse al respecto), las características generales y estructurales de las escuelas estudiadas no se han modificado sustancialmente. Desde el momento en que el trabajo de campo fue realizado hasta la fecha se han sucedido varias administraciones en la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires y en el Gobierno Nacional, sin embargo en ningún caso se realizaron modificaciones sustanciales a la estructura curricular, sistema de acceso a los puestos directivos y docentes. Si bien en los últimos diez años se han desplegado algunos planes y programas para la educación de adultos ninguno de ellos ha tenido por objeto al tipo de instituciones que se estudian aquí. Cabe destacar, sin embargo que en el año 2002 la legislatura de la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires aprobó una ley de obligatoriedad del nivel secundario (Ley CABA, 898), luego en diciembre del año 2006 se aprobó la nueva Ley de Educación Nacional (26.206) que extiende la obligatoriedad al nivel secundario en todo el país. Nuestro trabajo podría también ser un punto de referencia para futuras

investigaciones sobre este tipo de organizaciones educativas en general y, en particular, a partir de la modificación que implica un cambio normativo como la extensión de la obligatoriedad escolar.

Desde el año 2001 hasta la fecha he tenido la oportunidad, en diversos contextos, de confrontar resultados de mis hallazgos con académicos, estudiantes y docentes miembros de las escuelas estudiadas analizadas y similares, así como en mi actividad docente a niveles de grado y postgrado. En términos generales la descripción de los resultados ha sido corroborada, y también los he puesto a disposición para su debate en el contexto académico del campo de la educación de adultos en la Argentina.

Por último, quiero agregar unas notas sobre el modo de exposición. La primera parte, capítulos 2 al 4, pretende dar el contexto teórico, metodológico y empírico de la investigación. En el capítulo 2, “Contexto teórico de la investigación”, se parte de la consideración de los trabajos de Bernstein en la década del sesenta sobre la escuela y sus estructuraciones, luego se exponen los principales conceptos de la teoría bernsteiniana considerando dos vectores nodales; por un lado, los desarrollos que se produjeron a partir de y sobre el concepto de código pedagógico, y por otra parte, aquellos elaborados en torno al concepto de dispositivo pedagógico y a la construcción del discurso pedagógico, así como los trabajos sobre recontextualización. La exposición del contexto teórico centra la atención en aquellos elementos de la teoría a ser utilizados en la tesis; de alguna manera se recortan aquellos segmentos que se consideran necesarios para la construcción de la descripción que se pretende realizar sobre las organizaciones.

En el capítulo tres, “Research strategy”, se expone el modo en que se produjo la investigación, a partir del diseño de cuatro áreas de indagación: transmisión, relaciones institucionales (externas e internas), identidades pedagógicas y posibilidades de cambio. Así también, se presentan aspectos instrumentales de la metodología utilizada, tales como la conformación de la muestra, la construcción de los procedimientos de indagación (entre los cuales se presentan los instrumentos de recolección de datos), los tests de los instrumentos previos al trabajo de campo, las fases del proceso de recolección de datos, y las características del proceso de análisis.

El capítulo cuatro, “Empirical context and general features of the sample”, introduce a los lectores en una descripción del tipo de escuelas sobre las cuales se realizó el estudio empírico, Centros Educativos de Nivel Secundario (CENS), la normativa que regula su funcionamiento, y un breve repaso histórico de su conformación. Luego se exponen las características generales de quienes participaron de la investigación a partir de los datos obtenidos (los directivos, los docentes y los estudiantes), así como de las instituciones.

En los capítulos 5 al 8, correspondientes a la segunda parte, se presenta el análisis de los datos y resultados del análisis del contexto empírico. Cada uno de ellos se corresponde con un área de indagación de las definidas en el diseño del estudio; así el capítulo 5 presenta los resultados sobre el área transmisión, el 6 sobre relaciones institucionales, el 7 trata acerca de la producción de identidades pedagógicas, y el capítulo 8 trabaja sobre las posibilidades de cambio. Completa cada uno de estos capítulos una discusión sobre los hallazgos en relación con cada área de indagación, en los que progresa la elaboración teórica.

El modo de exposición pretende dar cuenta del proceso de conceptualización construido en función del análisis del estudio empírico, con el propósito de contribuir a un lenguaje de descripción específico de la regulación organizacional de la transmisión. El procesamiento de la información se presenta a partir del diseño de cada área de investigación, lo cual tiene por objeto hacer visibles la fuente y el modo en que los datos son tratados para su discusión.

Tanto la presentación de los resultados cuanto las elaboraciones teóricas sobre cada dimensión del estudio se exponen en una secuencia que pretende ser de carácter incremental e integrador. De esta manera, en cada capítulo se puede acceder a cada dimensión desde un punto de vista analítico y, a su vez, a medida que se avanza en la exposición, se integran los resultados y discusiones del conjunto de las dimensiones.

En el capítulo 5, “Transmission”, se utiliza el complejo de tres sistemas de mensaje propuesto por Bernstein (1973a: 228) “curriculum, pedagogía y evaluación” como orga-

nizador de la exposición, en la cual se pretende realizar una primera descripción de la realización de las modalidades de código pedagógico presentes en las escuelas de la muestra, así como para aproximarse a la descripción de la reproducción del/os discurso/s pedagógico/s.

El capítulo 6, “External and Internal institutional relationships”, presenta un análisis de las relaciones de los Centros Educativos de Nivel Secundario (CENS) estudiados con el Estado, con las Entidades Convenientes y con otras organizaciones relevantes. Estas relaciones externas se estudian considerando cómo el afuera incide sobre la escuela y cómo desde dentro de la escuela se procesan las demandas y formas de control externas. Por otra parte, un eje central de descripción en este capítulo son las relaciones sociales y el orden social interno a la organización. La información analizada y discutida aquí permite avanzar significativamente en la descripción de las realizaciones de la modalidad de código pedagógico y, particularmente, del discurso pedagógico en el nivel del contexto de reproducción.

El Capítulo 7, “Pedagogic Identities”, expone un análisis de los resultados esperados y los efectos de las escuelas estudiadas, en términos de los futuros construidos, entendidos como identidades pedagógicas; y los grados de satisfacción y éxito desde las perspectivas de los actores. También pretende indagar y discutir sobre cómo se construye la configuración de esas identidades pedagógicas. En el contexto de la producción de un lenguaje de descripción específico se puede entender a las identidades pedagógicas como el resultado de la proyección de un discurso pedagógico dado, así como la adquisición de una modalidad de código pedagógico.

El capítulo 8, “Posibilidades de cambio”, analiza los sitios, fuentes y posibles orientaciones del potencial de cambio. Para hacerlo se recuperan, de forma resumida, los hallazgos que surgieron en el estudio del resto de las áreas de indagación vinculados al objeto del capítulo, a la vez que se exponen los resultados obtenidos en este área específicamente.

La tercera parte del escrito está dedicada a las “Elaboraciones finales”, el último capítulo. A partir de las discusiones realizadas previamente sobre el análisis de los datos, se

presenta una formalización que pretende aportar al desarrollo de “lenguajes de descripción” de las regulaciones organizacionales de la transmisión en agencias del campo de control simbólico.

Al final del escrito se puede encontrar tres anexos, el Anexo I contiene el listado total de CENS de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires, la Entidad Conveniente y la orientación curricular de cada uno. En el Anexo II se adjuntan los instrumentos de indagación utilizados en el trabajo de campo. Finalmente, en el Anexo III, se exponen las principales redes utilizadas para el análisis de parte de las entrevistas con sus correspondientes descripciones.

Quisiera aclarar al lector que la escritura en los idiomas inglés y español de la tesis se debe a que la mayor parte de la misma se redactó en inglés para poder recibir la supervisión del Profesor Bernstein y, finalmente, aprovechamos esta circunstancia para poder acceder a la mención europea del título de doctor¹.

¹ On November 8th 1994, the Governing Body of the Universitat de València approved to adhere to the initiative of the **Comité de Liaison des Conférences de Recteurs et de Présidents des Universités des Pays Membres de la Communauté Européenne** to create a European doctorate.

PART I

2. CONTEXTO TEÓRICO DE LA INVESTIGACIÓN

2.1 Perspectiva teórica y una primera definición del objeto de estudio

El marco teórico seleccionado para el desarrollo de la presente investigación se basa en los trabajos del sociólogo inglés Basil Bernstein. El interés en el uso de esta teoría tiene dos fuentes, por un lado la realización de un trabajo de investigación empírico sobre organizaciones educativas de adultos, campo en el que no ha habido aplicaciones de la teoría bernsteiniana y, por otro lado, la insatisfacción de los marcos teóricos que toman a las organizaciones educativas como su objeto de estudio en la actualidad tanto para su descripción como para su explicación (Graizer, 1999).

En un primer momento del diseño de la investigación el objeto de estudio fue pensado como las relaciones entre curriculum, moral y relaciones sociales a nivel de la organización en instituciones educativas de nivel secundario para adultos.² Luego de diversas modificaciones y reorientaciones el estudio finalmente hace foco, al nivel más general, sobre las relaciones entre las prácticas pedagógicas, las regulaciones (externas e internas) de las organizaciones del contexto de reproducción, las identidades pedagógicas (*futuros*) y las posibilidades de cambio en las escuelas de la muestra.

² El primer diseño fue elaborado con anterioridad al comienzo del trabajo con el Prof. Basil Bernstein como director de tesis en el Institute of Education (University of London), a partir de la lectura del escaso material disponible en ese momento en la Argentina. En el transcurso de la relación con Bernstein como tutor y con el estudio sistemático de la teoría el objeto de estudio fue “informado” y, luego, redefinido.

Sintéticamente, y a modo de introducción, se puede decir que la teoría del discurso pedagógico y modalidades de control simbólico bernsteiniana, y sus implicancias metodológicas, ofrece la posibilidad de:

- a)** conectar procesos macro sociales con procesos micro sociales en el estudio de las formas del control simbólico como reguladoras de la reproducción social y su cambio;
- b)** describir relaciones de poder y control en las prácticas pedagógicas y sus correlatos en los contextos organizacionales;
- c)** ubicar al conocimiento (y las relaciones sociales que hacen a su producción y distribución) en el centro del foco de la investigación sobre organizaciones del campo de control simbólico;
- d)** indagar sobre las identidades producidas en las prácticas pedagógicas; y,
- e)** utilizar un lenguaje que incorpora las tensiones, conflictos y posibilidades de cambio como un aspecto central en la comprensión de los fenómenos de producción y reproducción cultural.³

Algunas de estas propiedades de la teoría se podían vislumbrar en la ya clásica proposición realizada por Basil Bernstein, en el primer tomo de la serie Clases, Código y Control, en la cual se define un programa de investigación que se ha extendido hasta el día de hoy en múltiples estudios, y que durante más de cuarenta años tuvo a Basil Bernstein como mentor:

“How a society selects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates the educational knowledge it considers to be public reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control. From this point of view, differences within and change in the organization, transmission and evaluation of educational knowledge should be a major area of sociological interest.” (Bernstein, 1973a; 227)

³ Para un detalle de los criterios que una teoría sociológica debe satisfacer ver Benstein (2000, 90-92) y Bernstein (1990b 29-30).

En tanto que sobre el objeto de estudio en el marco de la teoría se puede comenzar refiriendo a la introducción hecha por Bernstein a la última versión del artículo sobre los códigos pedagógicos⁴:

“The models that I develop here should be able to describe the organizational, discursive and transmission practices in all pedagogic agencies and show the process whereby selective acquisition takes place.” (Bernstein, 2000; 3)

La teoría, en su desarrollo, se ha centrado tanto en procesos micro como macro cuya interrelación da cuenta de las formas de producción y reproducción en el campo de control simbólico, y ha tenido, a partir de la mitad de la década del ochenta, especial preocupación en conectar ambos niveles⁵.

Para poder formular de modo apropiado e informado por la teoría nuestro objeto de estudio se requiere disponer de una matriz de conceptos que, a su vez, permitan construir un lenguaje de descripción de las organizaciones educativas. Para ello a continuación se presentan algunos de los componentes de la teoría desarrollada por Bernstein. Ya que no es posible presentar en este contexto toda la teoría y sus derivaciones, así como los trabajos teóricos y empíricos a los que dio lugar, se hará un recorte orientado al trabajo de esta tesis.

La exposición contempla, primero una aproximación a los trabajos inaugurales sobre las organizaciones de transmisión cultural del sistema educativo; en segundo término, se presentan elementos sustantivos de la teoría en relación a los códigos pedagógicos, y en tercer lugar se exponen algunos de los desarrollos en relación al concepto de discurso pedagógico y su relación con las organizaciones del campo de control simbólico, para poder, en cuarto lugar presentar brevemente el concepto de identidad pedagógica. En el final del capítulo se redefine, informado por la teoría, el objeto de estudio de la investigación que aquí se presenta.

⁴ Serie de artículos iniciada en Bernstein (1971) re-editada en Bernstein (1973a).

⁵ Ver especialmente Bernstein 2000 capítulo 6, donde expone el recorrido de la teoría desde finales de la década del '50 hasta el año 2000. Ver también Sadovnik (1995), Morais et.al (2001).

2.2 Primeras aproximaciones a la descripción de la escuela como organización

Múltiples referencias a la cuestión organizacional pueden encontrarse en cuatro de los cinco libros del autor (Bernstein 1973a, 1977, 1990a, 2000)⁶. Las primeras aproximaciones aparecen en tres trabajos que abrieron el camino y fueron debatidos desde su publicación hasta la actualidad⁷. En “Sources of consensus and disaffection in education” (Bernstein, 1966), “Ritual in education” (Bernstein et.al., 1966) y en “Open schools, open society?” (Bernstein, 1967)⁸ se realiza una serie de desarrollos sobre las relaciones entre la formas de la división del trabajo en la escuela y las modalidades de control para entender algunos efectos en el ámbito de la comunicación y de la conformación de identidades. Es de interés en el marco de nuestro trabajo destacar un comentario que Bernstein (1977; 3) realiza al introducir la publicación de estos trabajos en el Vol. III de *Class, Codes and Control*, cuando sostiene:

“...I was not very hopeful of the possibilities of applying organizational theory to schools, and I wanted to develop a different approach which placed at the centre of the analysis the principles of transmission and their embodiment in structures of social relationships.”

En el primero de los artículos (Bernstein, 1966), según el autor refiere en la introducción al Volumen 3 (Bernstein, 1977; 3), se pretendía señalar la variedad de respuestas de los alumnos a los roles creados por la escuela, y mostrar cómo estas variaciones tendrían consecuencias en el tipo de compromiso de las familias.

En este artículo, Bernstein distingue entre dos “*complexes of behaviour*” interrelacionados que se transmiten en la escuela: un “orden expresivo” y un “orden instrumental”. El primero, concerniente a conductas, carácter y modos de ser, Bernstein lo vincula directamente con un orden moral que “*tends to bind the whole school together as a distinct moral collectivity*” (Bernstein, 1977; 38). El segundo, instrumental, relativo a la adquisición de hechos, procedimientos, prácticas y juicios necesarios para la adquisición de habilidades específicas. Para el autor, este último, opera como una función “divisiva”

⁶ En Bernstein (1973b) se compilan textos producidos por los miembros de la Sociological Research Unit del Institute of Education, University of London, que retoman el análisis de los trabajos empíricos sobre sociología del lenguaje desarrollados entre 1966 y 1971.

⁷ Ver, entre otros, Power y Whitty (2002); Morais (1999), Van Haecht (1999); Rampton (1998), Singh (2001); Tyler (1991 [1988], 1982), Emirbayer (2003).

⁸ Estos tres artículos formaron la Parte 1 de *Class, Codes and Control. Vol. 3. Towards a Theory of Educational Transmission* (Bernstein, 1977), titulada “Changes in the moral basis of schools”.

tanto de alumnos cuanto de docentes. Un incremento de la dominancia de este orden instrumental es conectado por Bernstein con una “mentalidad examinadora” presente en la Inglaterra de finales de la década del '60 que aumentaría la función divisiva.

Tanto el orden instrumental como el expresivo refieren a relaciones estructurales de control. A pesar que Bernstein mismo reconoce cierta resonancia funcionalista, subraya que el análisis que se intentaba hacer hacia mediados de los '60 permitiría postular preguntas más sobre el conflicto y las tensiones que sobre el equilibrio (Bernstein, 1977; 4). En esta dirección el artículo propone un modelo para estudiar la relación de los estudiantes y las familias con los dos tipos de orden ya señalados, y las posibles zonas de conflicto o tensión entre el estudiante y la escuela, la familia y la escuela, y el estudiante y su familia, según el despliegue del “rol” en ciertas relaciones estructurales de control.

El análisis provisorio, y en algún punto “mecánico”⁹, que ofrece este primer artículo nos permite identificar el origen y las preocupaciones que motivaron la creación de algunos conceptos, particularmente los que luego serían los de discurso instruccional y regulativo, que tienen sus raíces en estas primeras versiones de los órdenes instrumental y expresivo (de base parsoniana), así como el interés en desarrollar un lenguaje de descripción que apunte a describir la estructura organizacional, la estructura de conocimiento en la escuela y los principios de transmisión.

Al segundo artículo de la serie, “Ritual in education” (Bernstein et al., 1966), Bernstein lo identifica como el que le permitió definir:

“what became almost an obsession: to try to understand the origins and consequences of different modalities of control.” (Bernstein, 1977; 5)

En este artículo Bernstein desarrolla y profundiza los conceptos de orden expresivo e instrumental presentados en el artículo anterior, y focaliza su atención en cómo se puede distinguir estos órdenes en términos de formas de relación social que controlan la transmisión. Esto le permite estudiar modificaciones en la estructura de la escuela (especialmente secundaria), a través de la caracterización de diversos tipos de rituales (“*consensual rituals*” y “*differentiating rituals*”) y sus relaciones con los modos de control

⁹ Esta calificación la hace el mismo Bernstein (1977; 4).

sobre los dos órdenes de comportamiento a ser transmitidos y las formas de transmisión de los mismos. Por un lado, lo que denomina *stratified structure*, caracterizada por tomar atributos “fijos” (sexo, edad, coeficiente intelectual, etc.) de l@s alumn@s como base para ordenar las relaciones sociales dentro de la escuela, hacia una “*differentiated structure*”, cuando las bases del ordenamiento de las relaciones entre alumnos no está sujeta a un atributo fijo, como cuando se considera la habilidad cognitiva como un proceso antes que como una sustancia. En esta última forma, “*differentiated structure*”, el modo de control vira de basarse en rituales a formatos “terapéuticos”¹⁰.

El artículo también abre y avanza en una línea de análisis, y estudio, que pone en relación la estructura de la escuela, las formas de transmisión y control de la transmisión, con la función social y económica de la escuela.

“The more the social purpose of education is to educate for diversity in economic and social function, the more likely it is that the school will shift from a stratified to a differentiated form.” (Bernstein, 1977; 63)

Aquí Bernstein propone un análisis de las transformaciones en las formas de transmisión y de control en función de la relación de la escuela con la estructura económica, ocupacional y la educación superior. Sostiene que se pueden modelizar dos formatos de control uno burocrático y otro terapéutico. El primero se puede identificar cuando la escuela se constituye en un instrumento principal de la división del trabajo a través del control sobre el futuro ocupacional de l@s alumn@s. En esta modalidad se subordinan las necesidades de l@s alumn@s a los requerimientos de la división de trabajo a través del sistema de exámenes. El conocimiento es organizado y transmitido para ser evaluado. La transmisión del orden instrumental se burocratiza (Bernstein, 1977; 63). En el segundo formato, terapéutico, la escuela opera como un instrumento de control social regulando el comportamiento de los estudiantes que no son objeto de examinación, su sensibilidad emocional, modos de relación social considerados aceptables por una parte de la sociedad, a la cual los sujetos no necesariamente sienten pertenecer. Ambas formas de control afectan directamente la transmisión, el curriculum y las identidades que se generan en la escuela.

¹⁰ Con la categoría de control terapéutico Bernstein califica a las formas de control existentes en el tipo de escuela diferenciada. Aquí el control social se sostienen en formatos interpersonales, se psicologiza, y opera a través de manipulaciones verbales. En el caso de las escuelas estratificadas el control social se caracteriza por ser realizado a través de rituales, de manera impersonal, extra-verbal o indirecta (Bernstein, 1977; 58 - 64).

Luego, en el mismo artículo, Bernstein arriesga posibilidades de transformación de los formatos escolares en función del grado de autonomía que posea la escuela de las demandas ocupacionales y de lo que suceda con la oferta de vacantes y los modos de selección de las universidades británicas.

En “Open schools – open society?” Bernstein se refiere a la escuela en el marco de los muchos intentos de analizar la escuela como una “organización compleja” entre los sociólogos, y anuncia, en el comienzo, que la perspectiva que adoptará es la de Durkheim en “La división del trabajo social” (1985 [1893]). El objeto central del artículo es las relaciones entre el orden moral de la escuela, su organización social y sus formas de integración social. Para ello el autor toma los conceptos de solidaridad mecánica y orgánica desplegados por Durkheim de manera de poder caracterizar formas de integración social. Bernstein identifica un movimiento de principios de integración social desde una solidaridad mecánica hacia otra orgánica. Señala que su interés se focalizaba en el movimiento general que se daba en ese momento a nivel ideológico antes que fáctico (Bernstein, 1977; 7).

Por un lado, propone analizar las formas de control social, unas basadas en la posición, en una transmisión de valores comunes a través de un orden ritual; y otras más personalizadas, basadas en el reconocimiento de diferencias entre individuos. Por otro lado, propone prestar atención a la división del trabajo de los docentes en las nuevas configuraciones. Bernstein identifica una mayor diferenciación y especialización de roles. Y por último considera la organización social entre los alumnos, donde postula un movimiento hacia la conformación de posiciones no fijas en términos de edad, sexo o coeficiente intelectual sino en términos de cualidades individuales. Para Bernstein: “*This is good evidence to a shift towards organic solidarity*” (Bernstein, 1977; 69).

Una vez establecido el carácter de solidaridad orgánica de las nuevas configuraciones escolares, utiliza su instrumental de análisis sobre el currículum y las formas de la pedagogía, la organización de los grupos de enseñanza y los roles docente y alumno. Aquí identifica una serie de modificaciones que tienden a debilitar la forma de la clase

como una base para la relación y organización de la transmisión. En lo concerniente a la pedagogía el cambio lo visualiza en un movimiento

“from a pedagogy which, for the majority of secondary school pupils, was concerned with the learning of standard operations tied to specific contexts- to a pedagogy which emphasizes the exploration of principles.” (Bernstein, 1977; 70)

Estos cambios en la pedagogía

“...alters the authority relationships between teacher and taught, and possibly changes the natures of the authority inherent in the subject.” (Ibid idem).

En cuanto al curriculum

“We are witnessing a shift in emphasis away from schools where the subject is a clear-cut definable unit of the curriculum, to schools where the unit of the curriculum is not so much a subject as an idea –say, topic-centered interdisciplinary enquiry.” (Ibid idem).

Estos cambios a nivel del curriculum tienen, a su vez, consecuencias a nivel de las relaciones sociales, en la configuración misma del rol docente. Estas modificaciones refuerzan la idea de estar frente a un movimiento hacia una modalidad orgánica de integración social, dada la diversificación, el alto grado de interdependencia entre los roles, la necesidad de cooperación, una relación “complementaria” con el resto de los docentes. Estos cambios también afectan la claridad de la definición del rol de estudiante, éstos tienen que elegir, ya no están sujetos a una posición definida y circunscripta, *“The enacting of the role of pupil reveals less his similarity to others, but rather his difference from others.”* (Bernstein, 1977; 72).

Incorporando los conceptos de “boundary relationship” (relaciones de límite) (Durkheim y Mauss, 1963 [1903]) y “pureza” y “mixtura” de categorías (Douglas, 2002 [1966]) desarrolla la idea de dos extremos, o tipos ideales de estructuras organizacionales escolares. Las cerradas en términos de una clara diferenciación adentro-afuera, a la vez que una conformación interna sellada, compacta, homogénea. Las abiertas en términos de mayor visibilidad interna, aparición de agentes externos a la escuela dentro de la misma, las barreras de culturas extra escolares se borran o se hace más difusas, más permeable y altamente diferenciada en las relaciones internas.

El autor sintetiza el significado de los movimientos de estructuras cerradas hacia abiertas:

“There has been a shift from secondary schools whose symbolic orders point up or celebrate the idea of purity of categories –whether these categories be values, subjects in a curriculum, teaching groups or teachers- to secondary schools whose symbolic orders point up or celebrate the idea of mixture or diversity of categories.” (Bernstein, 1977; 73).

Estos movimientos los toma como indicadores de cambios en la cultura, cambios de los principios de control social. Control social sobre la distribución de diversas formas del conocimiento y la transmisión de creencias y valores. Esto traería consecuencias en la configuración de las relaciones sociales de los estudiantes y la conformación de sus identidades:

“... is it possible that, as the open school moves further towards organic solidarity as its major principle of social integration, so the pupils may move further towards the ‘closed’ society of the age group? Are the educational dropouts of the fifties to be replaced by the moral dropouts of the seventies?” (Bernstein, 1977; 75)

En el artículo original Bernstein modeliza en forma de esquema¹¹ lo que denomina luego (Bernstein, 2000; 97) “principios de descripción para el estudio empírico de las escuelas”, donde combina estructuras sociales que operan como control sobre la transmisión del orden instrumental y expresivo en tipos abiertos y cerrados según la mixtura o pureza de las categorías. Esta modelización contempla, por una parte, el orden instrumental, es decir el formato de los grupos, la pedagogía, el rol docente y de los estudiantes y el curriculum para cada tipo de relaciones de límite entre categorías; y, por otra, las formas de estructura social correspondiente al tipo cerrado y abierto, considerando: la orientación del orden ritual, el tipo de relaciones de límites, la organización interna y las relaciones de autoridad y control entre docente y estudiantes.

Si bien ha sido objeto de críticas¹², incluso del propio autor (Bernstein, 2000; 95-97), “Open schools – open society?” adquiere interés para nuestro trabajo ya que, en tanto el último de la serie de tres trabajos sobre la escuela como organización, aporta ele-

¹¹ En la versión de 1977 de “Sources of consensus and disaffection in education” aparece como “Apéndice B”, y es incorporado en su última publicación al referirse al artículo “Open School, open society?” (Bernstein, 2000; 98).

¹² King (1976, 1981); Cherkaoui, (1977).

mentos para delimitar un espacio de configuración del objeto de estudio en el marco del desarrollo de la teoría de Bernstein. Al comentar el artículo Bernstein señala:

“It also showed, though this was not made explicit, that there was in principle a variety of ways by which elaborated codes could be institutionalized in education.” (Bernstein, 1977; 7)

Con este artículo, esta mirada retrospectiva también nos permite subrayar la importancia que tiene para Bernstein desde los primeros escritos la “división del trabajo (social)”, en sus dos sentidos: la referencia a la influencia de Durkheim y el sentido conceptual que elaboró hasta el final de su obra, en donde se aleja, en sentido estricto, del desarrollado por el sociólogo clásico (Atkinson, 1995; Davies, 1995; Dowling, 1999; Tyler, 2004). La división del trabajo será retomada como una dimensión central en el análisis sobre código más adelante.

La división del trabajo le permite a Bernstein identificar un nivel estructural de las relaciones que define un espacio de posicionamiento de los sujetos en relación al orden moral de la organización escolar, y luego de la sociedad, el cual se constituye en una relación compleja con las modalidades de control sobre la transmisión y sobre los sujetos, que permitirá conformar ciertas formas de identidad y abrirá áreas de tensiones con la escuela, con las familias y de éstas con la escuela. La división del trabajo es el elemento que le permite a Bernstein elaborar descripciones de las organizaciones, de las posiciones de los sujetos entre sí, luego entre categorías de orden discursivo y entre el “adentro” de la escuela y el afuera de la escuela (en un sentido amplio que va desde los requerimientos ocupacionales de la sociedad hasta las culturas locales de las comunidades o de los grupos de pares de los estudiantes). Estas localizaciones o posiciones se derivan de las relaciones de límite que hay entre las categorías. Este concepto de relaciones de límite ocupó un espacio central en todo el desarrollo teórico de Bernstein¹³.

Para ese momento del proceso de producción teórica y del desarrollo de investigación empírica, como el mismo autor refiere (Bernstein, 2000, 95), el lenguaje era sencillo y no podía dar cuenta cabal de los sistemas de control. Se hacía referencia a diferentes estructuras organizacionales para la transmisión de “órdenes expresivo e instrumental”,

¹³ Ver Bernstein and Solomon (1999; 272).

que luego permitieron desarrollar principios de descripción para el estudio empírico de escuelas (Bernstein, 1967). Pero tal como señala Bernstein (2000; 97) en ese momento la teoría tenía limitaciones al no poder conceptualizar las macrorestricciones que pesan sobre los microprocesos, y no había conexión con los códigos para distinguir entre las relaciones de poder y control.

Estas dificultades fueron atacadas en la primera versión del artículo sobre clasificación, enmarcamiento y códigos pedagógicos (Bernstein, 1971), donde se formalizan estos conceptos y aparece una referencia a las “consecuencias organizacionales” de los códigos (Bernstein, 1973a; 246-249). Esta elaboración que conecta la realización de los códigos con ciertas formas organizacionales, en principio vía la configuración de la división del trabajo, se reescribe hasta su última versión en el año 2000 (Bernstein, 2000; 9-11) donde se retoma la denominación de “*Ideal typical organizational structures*” ya utilizada en 1973 (Bernstein, 1973a; 248). Estas consecuencias organizacionales se refieren a cuestiones tales como cohesión, consenso, conflicto, expresiones de las relaciones de poder y formas del control horizontal y vertical, comunicación dentro y entre dentro y afuera, y el lugar del conocimiento en la estructura de relaciones sociales.

2.3 Código pedagógico y organización escolar / del campo de control simbólico

El código pedagógico tiene, en el marco de la teoría bernsteiniana, una función descriptiva específica. Para Bernstein los modelos que desarrolla “*make possible specific descriptions of the pedagogising process and their outcomes.*” (Bernstein, 2000; 22). Y agrega: “*We need to know the processes whereby particular code modalities are constructed, institutionalized, distributed, challenged and changed.*” (Bernstein, 2000; 23).

Siguiendo a Bernstein (1990a; 101) y la revisión del concepto de código realizado por él mismo, tomaremos la siguiente definición:

“... a code is a regulative principle, tacitly acquired, which selects and integrates relevant meanings, forms of realizations, and evoking contexts.”

En el artículo de 1981, reeditado en 1990a como capítulo 1, ambos con el mismo título “Codes, modalities, and the process of cultural reproduction: A model”, Bernstein propone reescribir la definición original para escribir códigos específicos¹⁴, la cual hará explícita la relación causal de: “relevant meanings – realizations - context”, y lo hace de la siguiente manera: “*evoking contexts*” se transforman o reescriben como “*specialized interactional practices*”, “*relevant meanings*” como “*orientations to meanings*”, “*forms of realization*” como “*textual productions*”.

Esta reescritura permite, en el texto de referencia, desplegar un modelo de reproducción cultural y sus relaciones con la producción de bienes materiales del campo económico. El concepto de código así reescrito permite al autor conectar macro y micro niveles, ya que el concepto se podrá utilizar para la descripción de los procesos de reproducción cultural y sus relaciones con el campo económico, la producción material en dicho campo, y también las relaciones y prácticas dadas en el campo de control simbólico a nivel de las agencias y de prácticas pedagógicas a nivel micro, como el aula.

En el contexto de nuestro trabajo, la cadena de relaciones que establece la nueva definición de código, formulada en Bernstein (1990a), adquiere particular relevancia el lugar que ocupan las “prácticas interaccionales especializadas” (que en la primer versión son los “*evoking contexts*”) porque son las formas de estas relaciones sociales las que regularán la orientación de significados y luego generarán la producción de textos específicos.

Esta formulación conceptual, que se deriva en principios específicos de descripción, nos permite avanzar (a la vez que retomar elementos presentados antes en este capítulo) en el lugar que ocupa la división del trabajo. En tanto que resultado o producto de relaciones de poder establece posiciones relativas, formas de relación entre categorías. Estas formas de relación a la vez establecen la “voz” de cada categoría, es decir, el potencial discursivo de la misma, su identidad, en relación con las demás categorías, estableciendo un orden externo e interno entre y dentro de las categorías; así como el potencial de su cambio.

¹⁴ Bernstein (1981; 329), Bernstein (1990a; 15).

El código regula las relaciones entre contextos y a través de éstas regula las relaciones dentro de contextos. Estas relaciones crean marcadores de límites (*“boundary markers”*) que en tanto principios de división del trabajo y de sus relaciones internas, producidas por relaciones de poder, dan forma a categorías especializadas y sus prácticas. Cada categoría especializada conlleva una “voz” constituida por el grado de especialización de las reglas discursivas que regulan y legitiman la forma de comunicación.

“Different degrees of insulation between categories create different principles of the relation between categories and so different principles of the social division of labour.” (Bernstein, 1990a; 24)

En referencia a la división social del trabajo en la escuela y a las relaciones sociales, dos aspectos centrales de nuestro trabajo Bernstein sostiene:

*“Here the social division of labour is constituted by the set of categories of transmitters (teachers) and the set of categories which constitute the acquirers, whilst **the social relations refer to practices between transmitters and acquirers and practices between transmitters and between acquirers.**”* (Bernstein, 1990a; 22. Énfasis nuestro)

La vinculación entre las relaciones sociales que expresan, regulan y son reguladas por el código fue sustantiva en el desarrollo de la teoría y ocupa un espacio central en la comprensión de las realizaciones del código a nivel organizacional y sus posibilidades de cambio.

*“... the principle of the social division of labour necessarily limits the **realization** of its practices, yet the practices contain the possibility of change in the social division of labour and thus of their own change.”* (Bernstein, 1990a; 33. Énfasis original)

Las relaciones entre categorías (agentes, discursos, agencias, prácticas, contextos) dadas por las relaciones de poder que establecen límites, y así aislamiento, son formalizadas para su descripción en el concepto de **clasificación** (Bernstein, 1973a, 1977, 1990a, 2000). La fuerza de la clasificación (fuerte – débil) se refiere al grado de aislamiento entre categorías. Una clasificación fuerte refiere a un aislamiento fuerte, donde cada categoría posee una identidad única, y, consecuentemente, una voz claramente distinguida con unas reglas especializadas de sus relaciones internas. Una clasificación débil refiere a una menor especialización de identidad de la categoría, y de su potencial de significados, voz; aquí el aislamiento entre categorías se desdibuja.

El concepto de clasificación traduce relaciones de poder que establecen relaciones entre límites creando un orden interno a los sujetos y un orden social externo a los sujetos.¹⁵ El orden es preservado por el aislamiento entre categorías, y dicho aislamiento mantiene y reproduce, en su preservación, las relaciones de poder que establecen un “orden natural” (naturalizado) dado por la arbitrariedad de las relaciones de poder.

“In an important sense the classificatory principle is continuously present in every pedagogical relation. All the ‘voices’ are invisibly present in anyone ‘voice’. Socialization into one ‘voiced message’ involves socialization into all (i.e. into the principle of classification)”. (Bernstein, 1990a; 33)

“The arbitrary nature of these power relations is disguised, hidden by the principle of classification, for the principle of classification comes to have the force of the natural order and the identities that it constructs are taken as real, as authentic, as integral, as source of integrity. Thus a change in the principle of classification here is a threat to the principle of integrity, of coherence of the individual.” (Bernstein, 2000; 7)

La clasificación crea un orden externo y otro interno al individuo. Bernstein sostiene que estas son las dos funciones de la clasificación, una, externa al sujeto, regulando las relaciones entre individuos, orden social y la supresión vía el aislamiento de las contradicciones, clivajes y dilemas inherentes a la clasificación; y la otra, interna al sujeto, regulando las relaciones dentro del individuo, que crea un orden que se constituye en una “defensa psíquica” suprimiendo las contradicciones posibles de un debilitamiento del aislamiento, así se mantiene la “integridad” de la categoría.

La clasificación constituye la naturaleza del espacio social (Bernstein, 2000; 12) en términos de estratificaciones, distribuciones y localizaciones. Opera tanto a nivel vertical configurando principios de jerarquía y a nivel horizontal crea conjuntos de categorías especializadas que comparten la pertenencia a un grupo, un status determinado, etc.

En términos de Daniels et al (2004; 123), que retoma lo planteado por Bernstein (1977) en sus primeros trabajos, la clasificación predica sobre el nivel estructural, mientras el concepto de **enmarcamiento** predica sobre el nivel interaccional. En este nivel Bernstein analiza las relaciones sociales y cómo regulan el “mensaje”, así como su contex-

¹⁵ Por razones de espacio no profundizaremos en la discusión del concepto de sujeto en Bernstein, ver: Díaz (2001). De todos modos más adelante se realizan algunas consideraciones.

tualización. Estas relaciones serán específicamente analizadas dentro de la reproducción cultural, en relaciones pedagógicas específicamente en educación.

Enmarcamiento (*framing*) se refiere a:

“the nature of the control over: the selection of communication; its sequencing (what comes first, what comes second; its pacing (the rate of expected acquisition); the criteria; and the control over the social base which makes this transmission possible.” (Bernstein, 2000; 12-13)

“I shall use the concept of framing to analyse the different forms of legitimate communication realised in any pedagogic practice.” (Bernstein, 2000; 12-13)

“... framing regulates the realization rules for the production of the discourse.” (Bernstein, 2000; 12-13)

El análisis propuesto por Bernstein distingue las relaciones de categoría de su “mensaje”. Al nivel de las prácticas interaccionales se puede, entonces, focalizar sobre la realización del mensaje a través del cual el código es adquirido (volveremos sobre este punto más adelante). Es central para la perspectiva bernsteiniana distinguir entre poder y control, entre lo que se reproduce y la forma de su adquisición, así estas prácticas específicas crean el contexto de reproducción. El control está siempre presente, lo que varía es la forma que adopta el control, la forma que éste adquiere es descripta en términos de enmarcamiento. Si el enmarcamiento es fuerte el transmisor controla la transmisión (selección, organización, ritmo, criterio y la base social de la comunicación); si el enmarcamiento es débil el adquirente posee algún control sobre la comunicación.¹⁶

En cuanto a las relaciones sociales, éstas controlan los principios de comunicación y así el contexto comunicativo:

*“... the **form of the communicative context** is the crucial feature generated by their social relations, through the pedagogic practices the social relations regulate.”* (Bernstein, 1990a; 34. Énfasis original)

¹⁶ Bernstein (2000; 13) subraya el carácter “aparente” del control por parte del adquirente, y sostiene, en varios de sus textos, (1977, 1990a, 2000) que en las modalidades pedagógicas con un enmarcamiento débil el control es dado / otorgado por el transmisor y que la relación es siempre asimétrica, incluso en los casos de pedagogías invisibles donde las jerarquías no son tan explícitas como en las pedagogías visibles.

En relación con la definición de los contextos comunicativos y las prácticas comunicativas realizadas en ellos, las prácticas pedagógicas, Bernstein utiliza el concepto de enmarcamiento para la descripción del control de aquello que puede ser transmitido, el límite entre lo legítimo e ilegítimo en un contexto comunicacional. Se establece un conjunto de opciones para el transmisor y el adquirente en el control de lo que es transmitido y adquirido así como de su modalidad de transmisión (Bernstein, 1977; 89).

Así como el principio clasificatorio crea unas “reglas de reconocimiento”, en función del aislamiento que constituye el grado de especialización de un contexto comunicativo y los límites del potencial comunicativo, el principio del enmarcamiento crea unas “reglas de realización” que establecen qué cuenta como discurso / comunicación legítima, y estas reglas cuando son adquiridas crean competencias para la producción de mensajes legítimos en un contexto determinado. Así como la clasificación y las reglas de reconocimiento creadas delimitan la voz y esta limita el mensaje legítimo regulado por las reglas de realización creadas por el enmarcamiento, el mensaje es el medio para la modificación de la voz (Bernstein, 1990a; 35).

“In other words, social relations within the social division of labour have the potential of changing that social division of labour.” (Bernstein, 1990a; 35)

“The classificatory principles regulate recognition rules, what it is legitimate to put together, and so what we have called the syntax for generating legitimate meaning. Framing principles regulate realization rules, how relations may be made public, and so what we have called the syntax of realizations.” (Bernstein, 1990a; 41)

Los valores de la clasificación y enmarcamiento predicen sobre las relaciones internas a un contexto comunicativo cuanto a relaciones externas. En el caso del enmarcamiento sus valores externos se refieren al control de formas de conocimiento y formas comunicacionales externas al contexto comunicacional específico.

Una vez definidas las diversas dimensiones del código pedagógico Bernstein lo “escribe” (2000; 14-15) como

$$\frac{OE}{\pm C^{ie} \pm E^{ie}}$$

De modo que una orientación elaborada (OE)¹⁷ de significados sobre valores fuerte y débil (\pm) de Clasificación (C) y Enmarcamiento (E), tanto externos como internos (^{ie}). A partir de esta escritura es factible entonces describir modalidades de código pedagógico según las variaciones de cada uno de los valores correspondientes.

En la elaboración de la teoría de los códigos Bernstein refiere a la utilidad descriptiva de los conceptos de clasificación y enmarcamiento que incluye el nivel organizacional y la posibilidad de conectar los niveles macro y micro:

“Through defining educational codes in terms of the relationship between classification and framing, these two components are built into the analysis at all levels. It then becomes possible in one framework to derive a typology of educational codes, to show the inter-relationships between organizational and knowledge properties, to move from macro to micro levels of analysis. To relate the patterns internal to educational institutions to the external social antecedents of such patterns, and to consider questions of maintenance and change.”
(Bernstein, 1977; 112)

En el mismo artículo Bernstein (1977; 106-110)¹⁸ realiza una elaboración sobre los problemas de orden en los dos tipos de códigos pedagógicos que estudia en ese momento (integrados y de colección) donde, entre otros temas, refiere a las formas de autoridad y control, así como a las relaciones entre los grupos de docentes y su relación con el conocimiento en el marco de las relaciones sociales que hacen factible la práctica pedagógica.

El análisis está centrado en problemas del orden social, en términos del principio clasificatorio, y sus consecuencias en términos de las relaciones entre categorías discursivas (materias) y categorías de agentes (docentes y departamentos). Se modelizan variaciones de formatos organizacionales y sus consecuentes relaciones entre categorías en función de la fuerza del principio clasificatorio externo e interno.

¹⁷ Que es la orientación de significados dominante en los sistemas educativos.

¹⁸ Aparecido previamente en Bernstein (1973; 246-249) y luego aparecerá en Bernstein (1996; 24-25) y en Bernstein (2000; 9-11).

Si bien no aparece en los trabajos sobre códigos la modelización a nivel organizacional en referencia al enmarcamiento se pueden encontrar indicaciones en lo elaborado sobre los contextos comunicativos (que ya fue presentado más arriba en este capítulo), esto puede ser formalizado en la siguiente cita:

*“Social relations refer to the specific practices regulating the relationships between transmitters and acquirers, which constitute the context of acquisition. Essentially, social relations regulate the form of the pedagogic practice, and so the specific category-message. **The fundamental message of a pedagogic practice is the rule for the legitimate communication.** Thus the social relations within reproduction control principles of communication, and in so doing regulate what we shall call the communicative context.”* (Bernstein, 1990a; 33-34. Énfasis original)

Así el concepto de código se liga con la legitimidad e ilegitimidad de mensajes y con la legitimidad de los contextos de comunicación. De tal modo que el concepto de código es inseparable del concepto de comunicación legítima e ilegítima y de las formas de relación social implicadas no sólo a nivel micro.

“It can be shown that this general formulation of code operates not only at the level of interaction but also at the macro level of agency. Relevant meanings at the level of interaction translate at the level of agency into discursive practices; realizations translate at the level of the agency into transmission practices; and contexts, at the level of agency, translate into organizational practices.” (Bernstein, 1990a; 102)

La teoría permite orientar el trabajo de investigación que nos ocupa, ya que posee un gran potencial para la descripción de procesos organizacionales. Sin embargo, cabe destacar que desde la teoría bernsteiniana muy pocos trabajos han investigado, como objeto principal, el nivel organizacional y lo han vinculado a los macro procesos a nivel del dispositivo pedagógico con los procesos interaccionales.

Aquí se deben considerar especialmente los trabajos de Tyler (1991 [1988]) y Daniels (1987, 2004). En el caso de Tyler se hace una elaboración teórica de los desarrollos de Bernstein para el estudio de la organización escolar, en el marco de un trabajo que recupera las tradiciones de estudios sobre aquella, tendiente a modelizar formas de comprensión de su complejidad que permitan identificar las propiedades de la organización “escuela” (Tyler, 1991 [1988]; 201). Tyler, que encuadra los trabajos de Bernstein en el estructuralismo (particularmente francés), centra la elaboración de la teoría en el concepto de código pedagógico e incorpora, en ese momento de manera reducida, los

primeros trabajos sobre discurso pedagógico para la comprensión de las organizaciones escolares. Tyler sostiene que la teoría de los códigos es particularmente útil para entender “... la evolución del núcleo administrativo de la organización educativa; (...), la transformación de los modos de control en la clase abierta; (...), la aparición de nuevas formas de clausura simbólica (por ejemplo, mitos y ceremonias) en sociedades caracterizadas por la solidaridad orgánica. ” (Tyler, 1991 [1988]; 139). Tyler identifica que la teoría de Bernstein pone en el centro del estudio de las organizaciones escolares al discurso pedagógico, a las formas de transmisión del conocimiento oficial. Sin embargo cabe destacar que la caracterización hecha por Tyler del trabajo de Bernstein para la descripción de la escuela se centra en la teoría de códigos desarrollada especialmente en Bernstein 1977.¹⁹

En el mismo trabajo Tyler combina el trabajo de Bernstein con el de Michel Foucault, particularmente en base a “Vigilar y castigar” (Foucault, 1988) con el trabajo sobre el poder disciplinario y al concepto de “biopolítica” (Foucault, 2007) en relación a las formas de visibilidad e invisibilidad del ejercicio del poder. Así construye un “modelo generativo de la organización escolar” combinando un eje paradigmático (poder – trabajado desde Foucault) y uno sintagmático (control – trabajado desde Bernstein) donde incorpora el concepto de discurso pedagógico, ya que le permite considerarlos dos “enfoques complementarios de las pautas más profundas de la organización escolar en la sociedad moderna.” (Tyler, 1991 [1988]; 164). Sin embargo, tal como se señala más arriba, el marco conceptual utilizado por Tyler para la descripción de las organizaciones es centralmente el desarrollado en el contexto de la teoría del código (Bernstein, 1977).

En el caso de Daniels trabaja sobre las relaciones entre la teoría de Bernstein y la Teoría de la Actividad y desarrolla elaborados modelos de comprensión entre los formatos organizacionales, el discurso pedagógico y la formación social de la mente. En el trabajo de este autor encontramos una elaboración que va a integrar la teoría de los códigos y participa de los desarrollos (para ese momento recientes) del concepto de discurso pedagógico.

¹⁹ El trabajo de Tyler ha sido una de las referencias de Bernstein mismo para responder a las críticas de King, particularmente, en una comprobación empírica (Tyler, 1991 [1988]). Ver Bernstein (1990a, 124-125).

Daniels (1987) construye un modelo de descripción de las escuelas tomando cuatro dimensiones: 1. Teoría de la enseñanza, 2. Organización de la escuela, 3. Prácticas en el aula y 4. Relaciones externas a la escuela. La descripción de la organización escolar la realiza distinguiendo tres niveles: los docentes, los estudiantes y las materias. Dentro de cada nivel, a su vez, distingue entre dos ejes: horizontal que refiere al grado de diferenciación dentro de un nivel y otro vertical, que refiere al grado de estratificación dentro de un nivel. Considera que estos dos ejes ejercen una influencia poderosa sobre las relaciones sociales y la comunicación, y los considera como indicadores de valores de enmarcamiento (Daniels, 1987; 95).

En el modelo descriptivo el “punto de partida” es la teoría de la enseñanza (Daniels, 1987; 92, 104)²⁰. Según Bernstein (1990a; 189) estas teorías pueden ser implícitas o explícitas, “ellas mismas son constituidas por principios de recontextualización que regulan ordenamientos internos y realizaciones temporales y contextuales de los discursos de la práctica pedagógica”. En Bernstein 2000 (34-35) se puede encontrar la explícita localización de estas teorías de la enseñanza como parte del “discurso regulador” (ver definición más adelante).

En la estrategia metodológica que hemos construido para nuestra investigación (la cual se desarrolla en detalle en el capítulo 3) no hemos partido de las teorías de enseñanza. Si bien son consideradas como parte del discurso pedagógico y forman parte de nuestra indagación, el modelo de descripción organizacional parte del supuesto de poder inferir el discurso regulador de las relaciones sociales y de los principios que las ordenan.

Consideramos que se abre la posibilidad de realizar estudios empíricos que permitan el desarrollo metodológico y teórico de modo que se articulen las regulaciones externas e internas a nivel de la organización, así como sus implicancias en las realizaciones de las modalidades del código pedagógico en las prácticas. El bajo desarrollo de investigaciones en este sentido puede vincularse con algún déficit de la teoría en constituir a la organización como objeto principal. Este aparente déficit de la teoría es retomado y discutido por Bernstein mismo en un Apéndice del capítulo 1 incorporado en la última edición de *Pedagogy, symbolic control and identity* (Bernstein, 2000; 23-24), “Pedago-

²⁰ Esta perspectiva es retomada en Daniels 2004.

gic Codes and Their Modalities of Practice”. En este nuevo apartado Bernstein propone incorporar a su red de conceptos el de “cultura pedagógica” como un modo de responder a *“A criticism that has been made of the theory is that the code theory does not generate organisational or administrative descriptions.”* (Bernstein, 2000; 23). Con esta formulación Bernstein deja algunas pistas para continuar con el desarrollo de la teoría, esto lo hace incorporando relaciones entre los conceptos de “shape”, “stability”, “economy” and “bias”. Aquí Bernstein propone el concepto de “cultura pedagógica” que considera que regula al código pedagógico y, a la vez, sus relaciones dependen del código pedagógico.

La forma (“*shape*”), que refiere a discursos, transmisión y adquirentes, y la estabilidad (“*stability*”) que refiere al gobierno de la reproducción del código, a los problemas de conflicto y consensos, orden y reproducción en la realización del código; ambas, son intrínsecas a la modalidad de código. La economía (refiere a recursos) es externa al código, así como el “sesgo” (“*bias*”), que refiere a la imposición externa (por ejemplo, del Estado) de los criterios que debe cumplir una agencia. En relación con el otro regulador externo al código, la economía, el sesgo puede tener efectos en la orientación de las realizaciones del código, su gobierno, control sobre la selección de los docentes, etc.

“Shape and stability are intrinsic to code modality, bias and economy are not, but all four are components of the regulative discourse of the agency and its external regulation.” (Bernstein, 2000; 24)

A la hora del análisis e interpretación de los datos estas nuevas pistas teóricas serán de gran importancia. A su vez estos conceptos serán retomados y puestos en relación con el de discurso pedagógico en el último capítulo.

2.4 Código y cambio

Otro concepto y línea argumental de central importancia en el contexto de la teoría de códigos de Bernstein y que será de interés particular en nuestro trabajo es la relación entre código y cambio, así como la conceptualización de cambio en sí mismo. Bernstein responde a las críticas y encasillamientos en el estructuralismo²¹ con lo que considera un as que para él es el concepto mismo de cambio y el lugar que tiene en la teo-

²¹ Ver Dowling (1999).

ría, además de sus desarrollos posteriores sobre discurso pedagógico²² (ver Bernstein, 1990a, 128-129; Bernstein, 2000, 124-125). Bernstein sostiene que el cambio es una parte intrínseca e inseparable de la teoría (Bernstein, 1990^a; 129) que se puede leer, entre tantos otros pasajes, en el siguiente párrafo donde se sintetiza parte del trabajo presentado en el volumen 3 de *Class, Codes and Control*:

*“The distribution of power and the principles of social control **create structural relations** but these relationships contain contradictions, ambiguities, cleaves and dilemmas which inhere in the symbolic realizations of structural relations and in this way enter into mental processes to become the seeds of change”.* (Bernstein, 1977; 20. Énfasis original)

En la conclusiones del trabajo de 1977 sobre clasificación y enmarcamiento, ya citado más arriba (Bernstein, 1977; 112), propone como central al estudio de los códigos pedagógicos para la comprensión de los procesos de transmisión en el marco del control social, y la utilización de la teoría de códigos lo permite, considerar problemas de mantenimiento y cambio en los procesos de reproducción cultural.

La posibilidad de describir el cambio y diferenciar entre cambio y variación es un aspecto central que debe cumplimentar una teoría de la reproducción cultural:

“Theories of cultural reproduction ought to have within them very strong rules which enable the theorist or the researcher to say, ‘This is the same’, ‘This is a variation’, ‘This is a change’. Surely any theory of cultural reproduction must have strong markers to distinguish the ‘same’ or ‘similar’ from ‘variation’ and ‘change’”. (Bernstein, 1990a; 170)

Al definir los criterios internos de la teoría dice:

“The concepts must be able to distinguish between variation in, and change of, the agencies and fields of the empirical analysis. Further the concepts should be able to show how such variation and change occurs.” (Bernstein, 2000; 91)

Las ideas sobre el cambio y los códigos son sintetizadas en un apartado específico del último libro publicado por el autor (Bernstein, 2000; 15). Clasificación y Enmarcamiento pueden variar de manera independiente. En caso que haya variaciones de valores fuertes a débiles de cualquiera de los dos principios habrá cambio a nivel de prácticas organizacionales, discursivas, de transmisión, habrá cambios en las defensas psíquicas,

²² Ver Tyler (2004).

en los conceptos de docente y estudiante, de conocimiento y en las formas esperadas de conciencia pedagógica.

Para Bernstein “*The potential of change is built into the model*” (Bernstein, 2000; 15). Y sostiene que si bien el enmarcamiento conlleva el mensaje a ser reproducido siempre hay tensión para debilitar el enmarcamiento de tal modo que se configura una arena de lucha por el control simbólico. Cualquier debilitamiento del enmarcamiento produce tensión de cambio a nivel de la clasificación, pero cabe subrayar que el cambio es factible de ser iniciado a nivel del enmarcamiento, antes que a nivel de la clasificación. Aquí debe considerarse un aspecto sostenido en la propia definición de clasificación, ya presentada en este capítulo, y es que la clasificación posee intrínsecamente la semilla de su cambio, dadas las contradicciones, clivajes y dilemas que no pueden ser totalmente suprimidos.

2.5 Discurso pedagógico y organizaciones del campo de control simbólico

En Bernstein 1981 aparece la primera modelización que dará lugar al desarrollo de los conceptos de Discurso Pedagógico y Dispositivo Pedagógico. Estos conceptos tienen una función crucial en la descripción de los procesos de control simbólico y la conexión entre niveles que la teoría pretende generar. Estos conceptos permiten responder la pregunta:

“Are there any general principles underlying the transformation of knowledge into pedagogic communication, whether the knowledge is intellectual, practical, expressive, or official knowledge?” (Bernstein, 2000; 25)

A continuación establece la forma en que debe ser contestada la pregunta, lo cual le permite, a su vez, posicionarse en el campo de la sociología de la educación frente a otras teorías de reproducción cultural. Así Bernstein sostiene que su interés está en la constitución y formato del “transmisor” más que en “lo transmitido”.

*“... most studies have studied only what is **carried** or **relayed**, they do not study the constitution of the relay itself.”* (Bernstein, 2000; 25. Énfasis original)

En el marco del concepto de Dispositivo Pedagógico y sus tres reglas constitutivas (Distributivas, Recontextualizadoras y Evaluativas) Bernstein desarrolla el concepto de Discurso Pedagógico que tendrá un espacio central en este trabajo. El Discurso Pedagógico

“...is the rules of specialized communication through which pedagogic subjects are selectively created.”

“We shall define pedagogic discourse as the rule which embeds a discourse of competence (skills of various kinds) into a discourse of social order in such a way that the latter always dominates the former.” (Bernstein, 1990a; 183)

*“...**pedagogic discourse is a recontextualising principle.** Pedagogic discourse is constructed by a recontextualising principle which selectively appropriates, relocates, refocuses and relates other discourses to constitute its own order.” (Bernstein, 2000; 33. Énfasis original)*

Al definir que el discurso pedagógico es construido y constituido por un principio de recontextualización se entiende que el discurso pedagógico es un discurso sin discurso (o texto específico) sino que es, en sí mismo, un principio de recontextualización (dislocación y recolocación) creando un nuevo contexto que es el contexto pedagógico con sus reglas de orden, relación e identidad.

*“It is a **recontextualizing** principle which selectively appropriates, relocates, refocuses, and relates other discourses to constitute its own order and orderings. In this sense, pedagogic discourse cannot be identified with any of the discourses it has recontextualized. In this sense it has no discourse of its own, other than a recontextulizing discourse.” (Bernstein, 1990a; 184. Énfasis original)*

Desde el punto de vista del desarrollo de la teoría, es conveniente referirse al trabajo fundacional de Pedro (1981), en el cual se estudiaron prácticas pedagógicas en tres escuelas primarias. Es en este estudio donde comienza la discriminación en la descripción del discurso instruccional y regulativo a nivel del aula. Bernstein sostiene que a partir del trabajo de Pedro:

“...it was now possible to examine classification and framing at the level of the school, as given in documents, rules, rituals, assemblies, etc. for the regulative discourse and curricular programs for instructional discourse. Comparison could be made for both discourses between the level of the school, and the level of the classroom and the level of pupils. The regulative discourse of the school could be related to external regulative discourses. All this was now possible in the same conceptual language.” (Bernstein, 1990a; 102)

Para la comprensión de la constitución y realización del Discurso Pedagógico es necesario referir a la distinción que realiza Bernstein (1981 y 1990a) de tres contextos interdependientes de discurso educacional, práctica y organización: contexto primario de producción, contexto secundario de reproducción y contexto de recontextualización. Brevemente, el primero es el contexto en el cual las “nuevas” ideas son selectivamente creadas, modificadas o cambiadas, crea el campo intelectual del sistema educativo. El contexto secundario de reproducción es aquel compuesto de varios niveles, agencias, posiciones y prácticas, y refiere a la producción selectiva del discurso educacional. Finalmente el contexto de recontextualización refiere a la estructuración de campos o sub-campos donde se regula la circulación de textos entre el contexto primario y el secundario (Bernstein, 1990a; 191-192). El nombre que Bernstein da al campo estructurado por este último contexto es el de Campo de Recontextualización que, a su vez, está constituido por otros dos campos: el de Recontextualización Oficial (Estado) y el Recontextualización Pedagógico (Departamentos de Educación de instituciones de nivel superior, revistas científicas, editoriales, etc.). En estos campos se crean y se disputa por el dominio de Discursos Pedagógicos. En estas tensiones se crea un Discurso Pedagógico Oficial:

“Official rules regulating the production, distribution, reproduction, interrelation, and change of legitimate pedagogic texts (discourse), their social relations of transmission and acquisition (practice) and the organization of their contexts (organization). Official pedagogic discourse is an embedded discourse and is the realization of the interrelations between two differently specialized discourses: instructional discourse and regulative discourse.” (Bernstein, 1990a; 193-194)

Ahora es necesario detenernos en la conceptualización de los discursos instruccional y regulativo²³, y su relación, que conforman al discurso pedagógico.

*“We shall call the discourse transmitting specialized competences and their relation to each other **instructional** discourse, and the discourse creating specialized order, relation and identity **regulative** discourse.”* (Bernstein, 1990a; 183. Énfasis original)

²³ Para un rastreo de los conceptos “regulativo” e “instruccional” hecho por el propio autor ver Bernstein, 1990a, 210-212. Allí Bernstein elabora la transformación realizada por conceptos inicialmente desarrollados por Talcott Parsons (1999 [1951]) y cómo incidió Durkheim en su propia reconceptualización.

“Specific instructional discourse (SID) regulates the rules which constitute the legitimate variety, internal and relational features of specialized competences in any one agency.

Specific regulative discourse (SRD): the rules which regulate in any one agency what counts as legitimate order between and within transmitters, acquirers, competences, and the organizational context. At the most abstract level SRD provides and legitimizes the official rules regulating order, relation and identity.” (Bernstein, 1990a; 194 Énfasis original)

Esta relación de imbricamiento entre el Discurso Instruccional (DI) y el Discurso Regulatorio (DR) tiene la particularidad de que el último domina al primero, y esta dominancia es sustantiva para comprender el concepto mismo de Discurso Pedagógico.

“... regulative discourse is itself the precondition for any pedagogic discourse. It is of course obvious that all pedagogic discourse creates a moral regulation of the social relations of transmission/acquisition, that is, rules of order, relation and identity, and that such a moral order is prior to, and a condition for, the transmission of competences.” (Bernstein, 1990a; 184)

Así el discurso pedagógico crea un orden que hace posible la transmisión, un orden creado por el discurso regulador que da sentido a un discurso instruccional.

“...order, relation, and identity in the transmission of instructional discourse are themselves embedded in the principles of order, relation and identity of regulative discourse.” (Bernstein, 1990a; 185)

Esta relación y distinción conceptual y analítica es de gran importancia en términos de la construcción de principios de descripción de nuestro objeto de estudio. Siguiendo a Daniels (2001; 108):

“Regulative discourse communicates the school’s (or any institution’s) public moral practice, values, beliefs, and attitudes, and principles of conduct, character, and manner. It also transmits features of the school’s local history, local tradition and community relations.”

Como el foco de nuestro trabajo está dado en el “contexto de reproducción”, antes definido, retomaremos aquí, para profundizar en el marco de la teoría, lo desarrollado por Bernstein y Díaz (1985) en el modelo teórico explicativo del discurso pedagógico. Este contexto de reproducción se define en el conjunto de “interrelaciones entre agentes, discursos (instruccional y regulatorio), prácticas y sitios articulados en la reproducción de formas especializadas del Discurso pedagógico.” (Bernstein y Díaz; 1985; 138). Así

entendido el Discurso pedagógico se construye y constituye en el medio de reproducción de unos saberes específicos y un orden legítimo.

Siguiendo el desarrollo de Bernstein y Díaz (1985; 136 y ss.) el discurso pedagógico oficial definido por los principios y prácticas que dominan el Campo de Recontextualización Oficial puede verse recontextualizado, a su vez, por el campo de recontextualización conformado entre la escuela y el contexto cultural de los estudiantes, de manera que la escuela haga más efectivo su propio discurso regulativo.

En el desarrollo del modelo los autores avanzan en definiciones fundamentales para la comprensión de los procesos de producción y reproducción del discurso pedagógico en una relación recursiva entre discurso y contexto de reproducción. Establecen que es factible entender que la estructura organizativa del contexto de reproducción “está determinada” por los principios y reglas del Discurso Pedagógico de modo que cambios en estos pueden generar modificaciones en la estructura organizativa y en las prácticas del contexto de reproducción. A su vez, y por ello recursivamente, cambios en la estructura organizativa y en las relaciones sociales del contexto de reproducción pueden transformar los principios y presupuestos del Discurso Pedagógico (Bernstein y Díaz, 1985; 144-145)

Las organizaciones educativas (por ejemplo, escuelas) pertenecen al contexto de reproducción y están reguladas por modalidades de código que se construyen en relación con el Discurso Pedagógico Oficial, ya que es el Estado el que domina los principios de su recontextualización, produciendo posicionamientos de los sujetos en las relaciones sociales entre sí y con el conocimiento transmitido, a través de prácticas pedagógicas y de las relaciones sociales propias del contexto de reproducción. Pero el espacio de las escuelas puede participar de tensiones en la recontextualización de discursos.

*“However, what is reproduced in schools may itself be subject to recontextualizing principles arising out of the specific context of a given school and the effectiveness of external control over the reproduction of official pedagogic discourse. Further, what is reproduced may be affected by the power relations of the recontextualizing field between the school and the primary cultural context of the acquirer (family / community / peer relations). The school may include as part of its practice recontextualized discourses from the family / community / peer relations of the acquirer for purposes of social control, **in order to make its own regulative discourse more effective.**” (Bernstein, 1990a; 199 Énfasis nuestro)*

Habría, entonces, tensiones entre el Discurso Pedagógico Oficial y su reproducción a nivel local en organizaciones educativas concretas. Estas tensiones tendrían realizaciones de código diferentes y expresiones en las relaciones sociales y en los principios de regulación de esas relaciones sociales.

2.6 Identidades pedagógicas

El concepto de “identidades pedagógicas” aparece en el trabajo de Bernstein a partir de sus estudios sobre el dispositivo pedagógico y las transformaciones en los sistemas educativos a partir de los procesos de reforma (particularmente reformas curriculares) ocurridos en las últimas dos décadas del siglo XX. La incorporación de este concepto le permite al autor estudiar realizaciones del discurso pedagógico oficial, como resultado de disputas en la arena²⁴ de recontextualización oficial, especialmente situada en las disputas del Estado.

Si bien el concepto de “identidad” aparece en los primeros trabajos sobre clasificación y enmarcamiento (Bernstein, 1973) en relación a consecuencias subjetivas de la especialización discursiva en el contexto del curriculum, fue reelaborado y profundizado a partir del texto de 1981, “*Codes, Modalities and the process of Cultural Reproduction: a model*”.²⁵ Esta reelaboración, que ya fue presentada más arriba en este capítulo, realizaba una diferenciación entre “voz” y “mensaje” y sus modos de adquisición, y de cómo variaciones en la clasificación y el enmarcamiento modifican la modalidad de la identidad adquirida.

²⁴ En Bernstein 2000 aparece el término “arena” en lugar de “campo” el cual fue tomado de los trabajos de Pierre Bourdieu. Sobre la modificación del término Bernstein (2000; 202) refiere lo siguiente: “I should say, in passing, that although I found, as many others, Bourdieu’s concept of field immensely valuable, I have had some difficulties over its boundaries, inter-relations and conditions of its existence for my own work. Furthermore, again from my position, the metaphor of field either from classical mechanics or Lewin’s topological social psychology does not carry an adequate imaginative projection. I have now settled for the metaphor ‘arena’, which creates a sense of drama and struggle both inside and outside.”

²⁵ Una revisión hecha por el propio autor sobre el concepto de “identidad” e “identidad pedagógica” puede encontrarse en Bernstein, 2000; 203-205.

Luego en el trabajo sobre la recontextualización (Bernstein, 1996, Capítulo. 3; Bernstein, 2000, Capítulo 3) Bernstein desarrolla un primer bosquejo de construcción de identidades en función de una tipología de modelos pedagógicos y tensiones en las formas de recontextualización del conocimiento y la configuración de discursos pedagógicos. Este desarrollo le permite poner en conexión procesos a nivel de la sociedad (tanto económicos como culturales) con los procesos de control simbólico y el rol del Estado, los sistemas educativos y, luego, llegar hasta el nivel de las relaciones micro-sociales y la configuración de identidades individuales y sus consecuencias.

Finalmente es en el artículo “Official Knowledge and Pedagogic Identities: The Politics of Recontextualisation” (Bernstein, 2000) donde formaliza el concepto de identidades pedagógicas:

“... a pedagogic identity is the result of embedding a career in a collective base. The career of a student is a knowledge career, a moral career and a locational career. The collective base of that career is provided by the principle of social order (or the ordering of the social if of a postmodern persuasion) expected to be relayed in schools and institutionalized by the State. The local social base of the career is provided by the orderings of the local context.” (Bernstein, 2000; 66)

Así como en el contexto de los trabajos sobre código pedagógico la identidad (que también puede ser entendida como posición relativa) es una función del código, una adquisición que resulta de las complejas relaciones entre la voz dada por el principio clasificatorio y el mensaje regulado por el enmarcamiento. A partir de las elaboraciones que permitió el concepto de dispositivo pedagógico y los trabajos sobre recontextualización la identidad (ahora, pedagógica) se elabora como una proyección del discurso pedagógico (particularmente el oficial producido en la arena de recontextualización oficial, el Estado) en relación a lo que se espera de los individuos en el marco de las complejas relaciones del control simbólico y el campo económico en el capitalismo y sus transformaciones contemporáneas.

En el marco de nuestro trabajo el concepto de identidades pedagógicas tendrá un lugar de importancia considerando el nivel institucional al que estamos abocados, que se vincula con las formas del código pedagógico y sus expresiones en términos de la

construcción de sujetos pedagógicos²⁶ realizada a nivel del discurso pedagógico oficial y su recontextualización local.

Varios son los trabajos que retoman el concepto de identidad y el de identidad pedagógica²⁷ entre ellos queremos destacar el trabajo de Mario Díaz (2001) en el que discute y elabora el concepto de “sujeto” en el marco de la teoría bernsteiniana. Díaz propone que para la comprensión de los procesos semióticos de constitución del sujeto y el posicionamiento del sujeto en la teoría de Bernstein se debe considerar “*structured and structuring relations such as power-subject, subject-meanings, subject-code, and subject-pedagogic discourse.*” (Díaz, 2001; 84). A la vez postula que hay cuatro categorías conceptuales que son las más importantes de la teoría bernsteiniana para la comprensión de las posiciones de los sujetos: clase, poder, código y discurso. En su elaboración Díaz sostiene que no hay teoría explícita del sujeto en Bernstein (Díaz, 2001; 85). Y para su comprensión y posterior desarrollo (del cual no nos ocuparemos aquí en detalle) Díaz propone prestar atención al carácter relacional de la noción de poder en Bernstein y al lugar que ocupa la idea de límite o frontera (boundary), “*In essence, boundaries are the critical point for the definitions of knowledge and practice as well as for the subject.*” (Díaz, 2001; 84-85). Y continúa diciendo: “... *there is a close relation in Bernstein between boundaries, power, social groups, and forms of identity.*” (Díaz, 2001; 85)

De esta manera Díaz nos enfrenta a la incorporación del concepto (relacional) de poder en Bernstein para construir una idea de sujeto que está directamente ligada a la de identidad. Así, en la producción del sujeto, el poder (relacional) tiene un sentido central en la constitución de límites simbólicos externos e internos dentro y entre individuos. El orden interno parece, en términos de Díaz, ser el medio de constitución del principio de identidad, que pone en relación con el orden simbólico externo vinculando estructuras sociales y culturales.

“... subject becomes a symbolic space for the realisation of power positions that fragment voices into voices internal to the individual. In opposition to individual unity and freedom, Bernstein thinks of a subject limited by what power establishes in actual voices. Voice is, in this sense, difference, is identity. Power is translated into

²⁶ Cabe recordar que para Bernstein (1990a, 1996, 2000) el discurso pedagógico crea sujetos pedagógicos (imaginarios) en el proceso de dislocación y relocalización discursiva y en la configuración de los contextos de adquisición.

²⁷ Ver Morais, et.al. (2001), Muller, et.al. (2004) y Moore, et.al. (2006).

voice, voice is translated into difference, and difference creates identity. But the translation is not mechanical; it is realized through the fracturing, dispersing, and fragmenting of voice." (Díaz, 2001; 87)

De esta manera, la voz es una función de la identidad y ésta es configurada socialmente, así también el sujeto, en relación con los significados construidos en el orden cultural y su base de relaciones sociales. *"Meanings not only serve as relays for communication and interaction but also for investing power and class relations in subjects and positions."* (Díaz, 2001; 88). Para Díaz esto debe ser considerado en el marco de relaciones de mutua configuración entre las relaciones de poder, los significados y los sujetos. En términos de Díaz el sujeto deviene en un espacio relacional para las prácticas (Ibíd., 94), en donde se puede identificar que para Bernstein las relaciones sociales son la base material para la incorporación del sujeto en el espacio social de discursos y prácticas.

Arnot y Reay (2006) retoman la discusión propuesta por Díaz (2001) y la ponen en el marco de estudios sobre la "voz" de los estudiantes y recolocan esta categoría desde el punto de vista metodológico, en el contexto de relaciones de poder para la configuración de lo que denominan una "sociología de voces pedagógicas" (*"a sociology of pedagogic voices"*). Así ellas estudian las relaciones entre voz y mensaje y su impacto en la conformación de identidades.

La conformación de identidades pedagógicas en el marco del estudio de las realizaciones de código y sus relaciones con las regulaciones discursivas a nivel oficial y local ocuparán un lugar central en nuestro estudio.

2.7 El objeto de estudio redefinido a la luz de la teoría

Los desarrollos teóricos hasta aquí reseñados permiten retomar la consideración del objeto de estudio del presente trabajo. Así, se debería ser capaz de describir las formas de regulación externa e interna en la realización del código pedagógico en las escuelas estudiadas. En esta descripción se deberán contemplar las formas de expresión del código en prácticas pedagógicas, y ser capaz de describir los principios de orden social que las regulan, sus relaciones con el Discurso Pedagógico Oficial y, más específicamente, identificar las tensiones en la realización local del Discurso. Estas configuraciones se expresan en las formas de con-

trol y relaciones de poder que dan orientación y sentido a los significados producidos a nivel organizacional, tanto en relación con las identidades pedagógicas creadas como con los potenciales conflictos y espacios de cambio producidos en dichas tensiones. En este sentido, a la vez que describir la modalidad de código de las escuelas (en sus valores externos e internos), se debería poder comparar dichas realizaciones, así como ponerlas bajo la perspectiva de su relación con el Discurso Pedagógico Oficial. En esta tarea las formas que este discurso adquiere a nivel organizacional deberían ser estudiadas en función del orden social regulado por la tensión con el Discurso Regulatorio específico de la organización, en tanto contexto de reproducción.

A partir de la definición del uso de la teoría bernsteiniana, la investigación busca describir las regulaciones sobre las realizaciones del “código pedagógico”, particularmente en relación con las fuentes, principios y realizaciones del mismo. El estudio es un intento de acercarse al problema de cómo las realizaciones de un código pedagógico dado son reguladas al nivel de la escuela entendida como organización. Es en esta dirección que se indaga sobre regulaciones externas e internas de la modalidad de código. Un área específica del trabajo, que se debe destacar, son las relaciones entre las realizaciones de las modalidades de código y las regulaciones de los discursos pedagógicos oficial y organizacional.

El método de estudio de la investigación fue diseñado en función de ser capaz de producir lo que se ha denominado una “topología” de la organización educativa. Esta “topología” debería brindar información que permita construir un “lenguaje de descripción” específico (Bernstein, 2000; Capítulo 7). Este lenguaje de descripción será utilizado para entender las reglas y regulaciones de la escuela, sus principios y las estrategias de las cuales las prácticas pedagógicas son realizaciones. El método fue construido de manera que facilite la búsqueda de similitudes y diferencias entre organizaciones. Este se concentra en la descripción de códigos y discursos pedagógicos, su construcción, transmisión, reproducción y potencial de cambio.

En el siguiente capítulo se presenta la estrategia metodológica que orientó el estudio y que, a la vez, permitió redefinir el objeto en los términos antes expuestos.

3. RESEARCH STRATEGY

3.1 Introduction

As we have said in the theoretical chapter, the study is an attempt to address the problem of how the realisations of a given code are regulated at the school level. The research seeks to describe regulations on the code realisations, particularly with respect to sources, principles and enactments. It is in this direction that the research looks for extrinsic and intrinsic regulations of the code modality. At the same time the description must be capable to describe the principles of social order that regulate the pedagogic practices, their relationships with the Official Pedagogic Discourse, and, more particularly, it must allow to identify the tensions in the organizational realization of the Discourse.

The method was designed in order to be able to produce what we call a “topology” of the school, a specific shape that the organization takes in each studied case. This topology should be able to give us inputs in order to construct a specific “language of description” (Bernstein, 2000). The language of description would be useful to understand the school’s regulations and the rules, principles and strategies of which the pedagogic practices are realisations. The method was constructed in order to seek commonalities and differences among the schools. It addresses the description of pedagogic codes and discourses, their construction, transmission, reproduction and potential change.

Bernstein (2000; 132) defines languages of description as follows:

“... a language of description is a translation device whereby one language is transformed into another.”

And he distinguishes between internal and external languages of description:

“The internal language of description refers to the syntax whereby a conceptual language is created. The external language of description refers to the syntax whereby the internal language can describe something other than itself.” (Bernstein, 2000; 132)

“A language of description constructs what is to count as an empirical referent, how such referents relate to each other to produce a specific text and translate these referential relations into theoretical objects or potential theoretical objects. In other words, the external language of description (L^2) is the means by which the internal language (L^1) is activated as a reading device or vice versa. A language of description, from this point of view, consists of rules for the unambiguous recognition of what is to count as a relevant empirical relation, and rules (realisation rules) for reading the manifest contingent enactments of those empirical relations. Principles of description, then, consist of recognition and realisation rules.” (Bernstein, 2000; 133-134)

The construction of the research strategy was inbuilt in the tension of theory and the empirical context. Having a strong internal language of description provided by Bernstein's theory the problem we have faced was to develop an external language which would not be consumed by the theory in a circular way (Moore, 2001), instead it should allow us to consider the voices we were to found; and which allowed to open the scope of the theory if this was not able to offer concepts and syntaxes to understand what we were studying and to produce a new text.

We designed specific instruments to get information at the school level as such and trying to avoid circumscribing the study to the pedagogic practices at the level of the classroom. We want to construct a way to have a sense of the school as whole, as an organization. In combining the internal language of Bernsteinian theory with a sort of checklist constructed based upon studies of schools (among others: Ball (1990); Beltrán y San Martín (1989); Daniels (1987); Fernandez (1994); Lambert, Millham & Bullock (1970); Tyler (1991 [1988]), etc.) and the knowledge we had on these type of schools, we gave shape to what we called a topology.

We wanted to cover as much areas of the school life as we were able to manage²⁸ and then to construct empirical references to be conceptualized. We needed to reach some defined areas of inquiry which helped us to develop the study in the field and, at the same time, to make the analysis feasible and productive in terms of the empirical description and in terms of production of theory. First we made several lists of elements, processes, practices, etc. existing in this type of schools to be described. The first drafts were conducted in an effort to be “theory free”, and then theory gave some order to the aspects to be studied. As a result of this, some elements which were not necessarily considered in the internal language of description remained in the main study (as head-teachers management orientations), while others that belong to the theory were disregarded (as classroom descriptions). Along this process we were not only “making lists” but designing the instruments to gather information and the methodology for analysis. This was a very important feature of the procedure because in designing the instruments and the ways of analysis the object itself was redefined.

At the most general level the study is focused on the relationships between the transmission practices, the regulations (external and internal), the pedagogic identities (*futures*) and the possibilities of change in the sample schools. For the study of this defined object we finally designed four areas of inquiry: Transmission, Institutional relations, Pedagogic identities and Change potential. We consider that the research strategy we are portraying here will help to relate empirical data and theory in a productive way. In terms of the methodology it is a primary concern to develop a language capable to produce empirical research on school organizations from a Bernsteinian theory that we think would open and enrich the scope of the studies of organizations of the field of symbolic control. In the context of our own research we agree with Brown when he sustains:

“The idea that empirical research is centrally concerned with the production of languages of description was helpful in creating a context for the coherent and meaningful use of a range of approaches to data collection and in making explicit the processes of analysis and the relationship between theory and empirical data.” (Brown, 2006; 138)

²⁸ This was itself a problem in the analysis stage.

3.2 Research questions

The basic questions that have led to the design of this study are as follows:

- a) What are the relations between external regulation and internal regulation?
- b) What sort of biases is required by external regulation?
- c) What kind of biases is introduced by the school?
- d) What kind of instructional, regulative and organisational discourses appear in the schools? How do they function?
- e) How diverse or homogeneous are the codes in the sample of schools?
- f) What pedagogic identities are constructed?
- g) What are the possibilities of change of practices?

3.3 Analytical description of the research areas towards a school topology

The research involved four areas of inquiry:

- a) Transmission (Teaching regulation)**
- b) Institutional relationships (external and internal)**
- c) Pedagogic Identities**
- d) Possibilities of change**

a) Transmission (Teaching regulation)

The main focus of this area of research is on the regulation/s of teaching, its constraints and possibilities. In order to do this we designed two different levels or sub-areas to be enquired: (1) what is taught and how, and (2) what regulates the teaching and how.

As we said in the previous chapter, transmission has a privileged place in the language of the theory and in the tools (conceptual and methodological) developed by Bernstein in order to describe agencies of the field of symbolic control. The process of transmission and its principles, as well as what regulates the transmission and the forms of control over the transmission are key dimensions in developing a language capable to describe school organizations. Transmission is a key function of schools and is the main process that occurs in them.

In the context of the theory, transmission has both effects over the structure of the organizations, i.e. the implications of the curriculum on the division of labour, as well as changes in pedagogy may imply changes in the social order. Transmission could be taken as one of the ways to have access to the pedagogic discourse, that is both the official pedagogic discourse and the pedagogic discourse realised at the level of the school; the issue here is, hence, what counts as legitimate transmission, which social order makes transmission possible.

a.1- Teaching contents (curriculum)

In this sub-area we describe teaching contents (selection and distribution), the relations between them within each school and the differences among the schools. Here we examine the official curriculum and the curriculum at school level.

Official curriculum

We have looked at the official curriculum for this kind of schools, which is defined by the Department for Adult Education of the City of Buenos Aires. We describe and analyse the characteristics of the curriculum, e.g. the selection and organization of subjects and syllabus and how mandatory and detailed are the criteria. This area of inquiry is mainly focused on official documents.

Curriculum at school (local recontextualization)

We describe the curriculum of each school. We focus our work for this sub-area on the rationale which defines contents that are taught, their sources, their structure, the distribution of time, relations between subject's contents and their external relations such as everyday life and work. We question different actors about:

- a) selection of contents
- b) teaching support material (e.g. textbooks, charts, guides)
- c) teaching methods
- d) methods of evaluation

a.2- Biographical and institutional possibilities

Here we describe the pedagogic history of teachers and students and the influence of the institution over the practice.

Biographic possibilities: teachers and students

Firstly we examine the pedagogic history of teachers, their teaching training, the type of courses or seminars that they have attended, the readings they consider relevant for their work as teachers in the CENS, other teaching positions and where they worked in the last five years. We examine teachers' theories of instruction and main influences on them as teachers.

We make a general description of the social composition of the students, specifically their pedagogic history (previous educational level, training) and their labour context.

Following Bernstein,

“...what is reproduced in schools may itself be subject to recontextualizing principles arising out of the specific context of a given school and the effectiveness of external control over the reproduction of official pedagogic discourse. Further, what is reproduced may be affected by the power relations of the recontextualizing field between the school and the primary cultural context of the acquirer (family / community / peer relations). The school may include as part of its practice recontextualized discourses from the family / community / peer relations of the acquirer for purposes of social control, **in order to make its own regulative discourse more effective.**” (Bernstein, 1990a; 199. Our emphasis).

We consider that the information drew from biographies of teachers and students may help to describe the regulations over the teaching, regulations over the recontextualization of the pedagogic discourse at the level of the school.

Institutional (CENS) pedagogic possibilities

We address here types of possible constraints and their origins. We ask directors and staff about the guidelines they have for teaching in the CENS, agreements about pedagogy and contents. We ask teachers about their teaching in the CENS, differences from other

teaching experiences, differences in teaching to different groups of students, what they think about the way they are teaching, and about what they are teaching, its relation with the orientation of the curriculum. We consider the degree of autonomy available to teachers in different schools over what they teach and how, as well as, forms of assessment.

b- Institutional relationships (external and internal)

This area of inquiry focuses on the institutional relationships: (1) external relationships (State, counterpart institution [CI], other organizations) and (2) internal relationships. We concentrate on the tensions, agreements, cleavages and autonomies which arise out of the various institutional relations. This section is about positions and their social relations.

The social relationships are those where the organization itself is realized, where a given pedagogic discourse and a pedagogic code is realized. Via the description and study of the social relations we may be able to describe the social order of the school, its tensions, contradictions and cleavages. We expect that the description of the social relations and the social order would allow us to have access to the configuration of meanings constructed in the school, as the social order and its dynamic is what makes transmission possible and it is the relay of the legitimate order and the legitimate discourse.

Through the description of the social order and the social relations we should be capable of describing the pedagogic discourse. We are particularly concerned with regulative discourse.

b.1- External institutional relationships

We look at what position the schools take towards the State, the CI and other significant organizations. In this sub-area we describe different positions with different degree of power.

Here we examine the relationships of the school with the State and with the CI and their consequences. We look at how the schools process external “discourses”, how the school deals with external demands, the tensions and agreements created by those relations, strategies for dealing with the outside. The agencies and organizations in contact with the CENS are the Department for Adult Education, the inspectors, the Counterpart Institution (CI), relevant community organizations, institutions of further education.

b.2- Relationships within

This sub-area of inquiry would allow us to describe how the school reproduces itself, in terms of its social relationships, how it maintains its own identity, what elements challenge the reproduction; how new spaces, contradictions and consensus are created.

We look at the degree of diversity among the different schools. This sub-area is concerned about selection, social relations, sites of negotiation and forms of discipline. Specifically we focus upon:

Intake and selection

Here we look at the forms and criteria underlying the intake of students and teachers in each school. We examine the principles underlying the distribution of staff and students and the response of both to such distribution.

We have as a hypothesis that every school, as a complex set of social relationships, practices and discourses, makes a kind of selection of staff and students. As a result of this, not just any student studies in a given school nor any possible teacher works in a given particular school. Questions about intake procedures and selection criteria would inform us about what kind of students and what kind of teachers has a given school.

We expect that “selection” would work as an index of the construction of the principle of classification. We consider that the underlying criteria of the school selection of both teachers and students would give us a sense of how categories are constructed and the boundaries of their voice and identities. Therefore we would have access to the shape that takes the distribution of staff and students. At the same time we enquire about the meanings that circulate in the school on distribution of categories and its realizations.

Social relations and their tensions

We describe the relationships between directors, teachers and students within. We designed various sets of questions addressing the social relations within the school. This description refers to issues of social order, its maintenance and possible disturbances.

From the above we hope to be able to describe the sites of tensions and contradictions in the school as a whole, how the school copes with these. How the tensions affect the functioning of the school, the work of the director and the teachers.

Formal sites of negotiation and legitimacy

Here we consider two sites of internal negotiation and legitimacy: the CENS Council and the Participatory Institutional Plan (PIP).

We describe the CENS Council, which duties are to advise the director about the functioning of the school, to define punishments of students. It assists in the development and assessment of the Participatory Institutional Plan (PIP) and in the definition of everyday practices in the school.

The Participatory Institutional Plan requires the school, according to the official regulation, to produce and submit a plan of activities for the academic year. It is a space where the different actors of the school have to be represented (teachers, students, counterpart institution). This plan is concerned with issues such as academic activities, extra curricular activities, relations with other institutions and projects to be developed.

Discipline

We will obtain information about the construction of discipline in the school, the formal procedures and guidelines, what is considered deviant behaviour and how the school deals with it.

c- Pedagogic Identities

In this area of our research we focus on the expected results (identities) of the school and how they are constructed. Here we are concerned with types of identities, their resources and the relations towards the construction of pedagogic identities.

In the process of the realizations of the pedagogic codes and pedagogic discourses, at different levels, pedagogic subjects are created and take part of one or various categories in the social relationships of the school. Pedagogic identities can be understood as the result of the projection of a given pedagogic discourse and the acquisition of a given pedagogic code. As a projection of the pedagogic discourse a discursive space is created

in terms of what is expected and it is constructed in the process of the realization of a given code modality.

Types of pedagogic identity and their criteria

We describe the types of identity that are constructed in the school. We consider as the expected identities of the school those which are projected by “official discourses” of the school. We examine the distribution of students’ futures and expectations from the point of view of both students and staff.

We can identify in a first approach two components of the *pedagogic identities*: a) instrumental, which refers to specific work orientation; and b) normative²⁹, which refers to the expected behaviour and attitudes of the students with respect to school, work, domestic and civic practice.

Resources of pedagogic identities

We expect to identify three basic kinds of resources of identity: vocational, academic, social.

- **Vocational** refers to the preparation of the students for the world of work, to the labour market.
- **Academic** refers to the preparation of the students for higher education (university, tertiary institutions, etc.)
- **Social** refers to general life skills and civil practices (specially oriented to marginal groups)

Identities and legitimisation

We examine the views of actors involved in the identity formation and the construction processes of the identities. Here we look at external and internal regulators of the identity formation. There are different actors involved in the discourse of identity formation (e.g. the Secretary of Education through the Department for Adult Education, the inspectors, the Counterpart Institution, the director of the school, the teachers and the students). Different positions may have different power over issues of legitimacy. We may find different agreement among actors.

²⁹Of course we understand that there are normative aspects in any work context.

d- Possibilities of change

This area of research is concerned with understanding the possibilities of change in the schools and how those possibilities are produced. The constraints on these possibilities are a major focus of the inquiry.

As we pointed out in the theoretical chapter, change is a key point to be described and the language of description should be capable to distinguish between change and variation. It is necessary to develop a set of procedures that enable to describe potential change. We hope to be able to describe sites and orientations of the possibilities of change, the sources of those possibilities, the tensions and the contradictions that generate a space of possibilities of change and whether change has some bias or orientations in a given realization of pedagogic codes and discourses. We also examine these possibilities across the rest of the areas of enquiry, with reference to identities, teaching, and the social relationships of the school organization.

3.4 Sample

We shall present in this section the general considerations of the selection of the schools which participated in the research.

3.4.1 Location of the study

The study was located in secondary schools for adult people in the city of Buenos Aires, Argentina. These schools work under the authority of the Municipality of the city and the department in charge is the Department for Adult and Adolescent Education (Dirección de Educación del Adulto y Adolescente -DEAYA-). The 69 CENS currently working in the city of Buenos Aires represent 20% of the national system of secondary education for adults.

3.4.2 Selection of the schools

We relate three features of the schools which we expect to produce variation between them. The first feature is the social background of students which we call pedagogic biography. The second feature which is expected to produce variation between the schools is the external regulation of the Counterpart Institution (CI). The third feature is the nature of

the pedagogic discourse, in this case we consider for selection the formal content of teaching.

Our initial hypothesis is that the pedagogic discourse in any school is a function of the pedagogic biography of students and type of external regulation of CI. The regulation of the State will apply equally to all the schools.

We considered differences between the CIs (Counterpart Institutions) to be crucial. The type of CI will regulate the curriculum orientation (through negotiating with the State 40% of the Curriculum). Thus we expect a trade union CI compared with a private employer will produce not only differences in the curriculum orientation (that is Instructional Discourse) but will also produce regulative orientations (different concepts of social order and legitimisation). Following this assumption we want to select CIs with maximum differences in instructional and regulative orientations.

Although the CI regulates the instructional discourse the realisation of that discourse may well vary between schools and such variation would be expected to have profound consequences in teachers, students and institutional context. Finally, the pedagogic biography of students refers, in simple terms to class background; that is the educational and occupational history. There is good reason to believe that students' pedagogic biography will have consequences for both the instructional and regulative discourse of the school. Therefore the selection of schools was carried out as to maximise variation in these three features to constitute a sample size large enough for the purposes and possibilities of this thesis. The selection of the schools to be studied should create variations in the biases of the external regulation and the extent of these biases affects the school. It is the Counterpart Institution which defines (always in negotiation with the State) the curriculum orientation of the school. The CI has the possibility to select or even create the orientation of the curriculum, in terms of the area of vocational knowledge to be transmitted. This implies 40% of the time of the curriculum.

Next we define the three dimensions and their values to be considered for the selection.

a) Type of Counterpart Institution (CI)

The classification of CI in “types” has been done upon the bases of the current Counterpart Institutions list that are supporting schools in the city of Buenos Aires. We have identified three types of CI:

I) Trade Unions

The criterion to define the values is the political relation of the Trade Union with the government. Therefore, we define two possible values: (a) those trade unions which support the government and (b) those trade union which are against the government. This will be taken from the official discourse of the Unions.

II) Employers

We shall consider two different types of employers: State and private employers³⁰.

III) Associations

We find three different types of associations: catholic church, security forces (army, police), and civil associations. In this case we will take the church and the security forces as the most important non governmental organizations that are delivering this kind of education in the Adult Educational System. The catholic church in Argentina is one of the most important institutions in the field of symbolic control. The security forces have a very particular position in Argentinean society, considering that they ruled the country by dictatorships, alternating with democratic governments, for the last 65 years.

³⁰We must stress that all the Private Employers that we have found are ex-state companies which have been privatised since 1989.

b) Type of Curriculum Orientation

We combine the type of Counterpart Institution with the curriculum orientation of the school.

In this study the curriculum orientation refers to the type of vocational focus. On the bases of the current curriculum orientations available in the secondary schools for adult education (CENS) in the city of Buenos Aires, we constructed three types: a) administrative, b) technical and c) health, social work and communication.

c) Students pedagogic biography

Finally we consider in the selection of CENS the pedagogic biography of the students, indexed by occupation, their pedagogic history and age. We could not include gender on the sample since it would have been unmanageable.

Most of the students attending this kind of school have working class origins. However this is not a homogeneous group with respect to significant occupational differences.

Given the difficulty of not knowing the students pedagogic biography before going into the schools, and requiring that the students composition should be occupationally heterogeneous between schools, we had to ask key informants about the general features of the students composition of the schools.

As a result of the combination of the above three dimensions and their values we have selected 10 schools from a list of 69:

I) Trade Unions**a) With the government:**

- i.- Administrative oriented curriculum
- ii.- Technical oriented curriculum

b) Against the government:

- i.- Administrative oriented curriculum
- ii.- Technical oriented curriculum

II) Employers

a) Private employers

i.- Administrative oriented curriculum

ii.- Technical oriented curriculum

b) State employers

i.- Administrative oriented curriculum

ii.- Health, social work and communication oriented curriculum

III) Associations

a) Church

i.- Health social work and communication oriented curriculum

b) Army

ii.- Administrative oriented curriculum

3.5 Data gathering strategy

In this section we describe the sources of data we selected, the procedure we decided to use and the procedures we constructed to gather the data.

3.5.1 Sources

The research was designed to gather data from different sources. For each type of source a specific data gathering procedure was designed (section 3.5.3). The sources are as follows.

Documents

Two kinds of documents were collected:

a) Official documents.

The official documents collected from the Department of Adult Education of the Municipality of the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires were: regulations for the CENS, curricula and syllabi.

b) School documents

We asked for the documents that each school produced. These documents included: curricula, syllabi, initial assessment of the students, statistical information, institutional plans and any other document that the school has produced.

Internal CENS participants

The second source of data are the actors of the school: director, teachers and students. From all the students we selected the third year group. This group is the group who is about to complete the full three years of study.

External CENS participants

The third source of data are the CI representatives who relate to the CENS.

3.5.2 Data gathering procedures

We selected three procedures: document analysis, questionnaires and semi-structured interviews. The selection of data gathering procedures was related to the information required, the temporal constraints and economies of the PhD, availability of information and actors involved. The interviews and questionnaires seemed to be the appropriate procedures to understand both the discourses and strategies of the participants and the underlying rules and principles of the school discourses and regulations. In all research there is a choice between in depth ethnographic case study approaches and approaches which offer a relatively large sample of institutions and actors in which maximal variation is in principle possible. As our study is the first of its kind in Argentina we thought that it was important to obtain an overview of forms of external and internal regulation of CENS. Accordingly we used in depth interviews, questionnaires, with open and closed questions and in relevant cases confirming interviews to check reliability of the questionnaires.

For each source of information we designed a specific procedure with a specific aim.

3.5.3 Construction of the procedures³¹

We identified the areas of the school life that we were interested in for this research. With respect to the four areas we described in the section 3.1.2 (identities, transmission, social relationships and possibilities of change) we developed series of questions for each area of research to make the necessary description.

We adopted a procedure for constructing the descriptions of the schools and the relevant processes which was both dependent and yet independent of our theory. The purpose was to attempt not to constraint our inquiry with hypotheses we had formed. Bernstein makes a distinction between L^1 (the language of the theory) and L^2 (the language of description and transformation of the language of enactment. The language of enactment refers to how the object of the study is discursively articulated). Bernstein proposes that L^2 (the language of description) should be constructed to maximise variation and thus difference. In this way the actors of the language of enactment have their own voice which can then lead by the language of description to change the theory.

“Description II (the external) is rarely free of description I (the internal³²), but I believe we must struggle to keep L^2 as free as possible. This struggle is for pragmatic and ethical reasons. It is pragmatic, because unless there is some freedom, description I (the internal) will never change. It is ethical, for without some freedom the researched can never re-describe the descriptions made of them.” (Bernstein, 1996a; 138)

Each instrument was piloted in a different institution from the sample and so with different actors. Now we shall give a brief description of the procedures we used.

Directors' semi-structured interview

Here we were looking for two main types of data: general information about the CENS life and opinions and stances of the directors related to several aspects of the life of the school.

The interview had 9 thematic sections; in all of them we examine features such as freedom, change, satisfaction, problems, constraints, consensus, criteria and views over social relations. The sections are as follows:

³¹The instruments are enclosed in Appendix II.

³²Internal refers to conceptual

- a) **Demographic** information (questions 126-133) where we have general information about the interviewee.
- b) **Position** (questions 1-5). Here we obtain information about the post, such as time in the position and in the school and the way the director was appointed.
- c) **School effects** (questions 6-13). The focus of this set of questions is to get the view of the director about the rationale, effects of the school upon students.
- d) **Transmission** (questions 14-22, 40-53). The inquiry here addresses issues about the official and the school curriculum, subjects, syllabi, the role of the curriculum orientation; teachers' classification and selection; teachers' freedom and guidelines. One of the foci of this set of questions was upon the theories of instruction and the focus on instructional and regulative discourses.
- e) **Students** (questions 23-29). We were seeking criteria for labelling students, student's intake procedure and criteria, the reasons for the dropout, the diagnosis and integration workshop and elements of discipline in the school.
- g) **Direction** (questions 55-72). In this section the work of the director her/his self is addressed. We looked for her/his control style, influences, biases, successes and failures.
- h) **External relations** (questions, 68, 73-80 and 109-125). In this section the inquiry addresses the relations of the school with the State and with the CI. At the same time other possible external relations were explored.
- i) **Sites of legitimacy** (questions 81-108). Three specific sites are addressed in this section: CENS Council, Institutional Participatory Plan (PIP) and students association.

Teachers' questionnaire

The aims of this questionnaire were:

- to have a brief characterisation of the teachers of the sampled schools;
- to briefly map the views on some of the areas of inquiry;
- to check the information obtained from the directors;
- to obtain information to design the semi-structured interview for teachers; and the questionnaire for the students.

The questionnaire was designed to gather data about the following aspects:

- a) **Demographic characterisation** of the teachers (questions 21-24). In this section we asked the teachers about age, gender, marital status and children.
- b) **Pedagogic biography** of the teachers (questions 1-6). In this set of questions we gather information about training history -degree, awarding institution, other courses and seminars-, other jobs, former experience in education and in adult education, labour context of the teachers and about their position in the CENS.
- c) **Theories of instruction** questions (7-10). Through four questions we tried to obtain the theories of instruction the teachers held.
- d) **Students identities** -futures- questions (11-12). Here we ask the teachers what they think are the schools aims and what are the most important aims_for themselves.
- e) **Accountability** (question 13). In this question we asked the teachers to whom and to what extent do they feel responsible.
- f) **Autonomy** (questions 14-17). In this set of questions we ask about the level of freedom the teachers feel with respect to the contents of the teaching, the pedagogy, the contents and the ways of assessing the students.
- g) **Satisfaction and change** (questions 18-20). Here we asked about teachers' satisfaction and whether they thought there should be changes and their possibilities about e.g. social relations, instructional aspects of the school, attitudes of staff and students and institutional dimensions like intake and the direction.

Teachers' semi-structured interview

The aims of this procedure were as follows:

- to have in depth information about the school;
- to check and to explore the answers we had from the teachers' questionnaire;
- to check the information and views given by the director.

The interview covered the following topics:

- a) **Effects** (questions 1-11). In this set of questions we ask the teachers about the school effects and the contribution their subject makes.
- b) **Students** (questions 12-18, 58, 59, 72). We inquiry into different students' labelling, their view on the Integration and Diagnosis Workshop and the intake procedures.

- c) Transmission** (questions 19-27, 32-33, 39-46, 76-78). In these series of questions we seek for different aspects of the transmission practices in the school, e.g. the curriculum and syllabi, guidelines, constraints on teaching, their pedagogy, aims of their teaching, evaluation.
- d) Autonomy** (questions 28-31, 34-38). This set of questions refers to the degree and type of freedom teachers have and the constraints they feel upon their teaching.
- e) External relations** (questions 47-50, 63-64). We ask the teachers about their relations with the CI, the inspector and other external relations.
- f) Institutional sites** (questions 51-57, 60-62). These series of questions are about the control in the school, the Institutional Participatory Plan, the Council, discipline in the school and the identity of the CENS as such.
- g) Social relations** (questions 65-69, 73). We ask here about the relations among the staff, and between staff and the director and the students.
- h) Change** (questions 79-81). This set of questions addresses specifically the areas of change the teachers would like to see.

Students' questionnaire

The aims of the students' questionnaire were as follows:

- to have the view of the students over the research areas;
- to characterise the students who are finishing the course;
- to check the information from directors and teachers.

The thematic topics sought in this questionnaire were as follows:

- a) Demographic characteristics** (questions 1-4). We obtain age, gender, marital status and number of children.
- b) Pedagogic biography** of the students (questions 5-7). These three questions address the educational history of the students.
- c) Labour context** (questions 8-11). This set of questions provides an image of the labour situation of the students.
- d) Aims and expectations** (questions 12-17, 31-32). This set of questions addresses both the expectations the students had in starting the course and the achievement of their expectations.

- e) **Transmission** (questions 18-27, 39). Here we ask for their view on the subjects taught in the school, the ideas they receive from the teachers, evaluation, criteria of success.
- d) **Classificatory principles** (questions 28-30). We ask about criteria for students' and teachers' classification.
- e) **Punishment and rewards** (questions 33-35, 42). This set of questions addresses directly the issue of punishment and rewards in the school.
- f) **Social relations** (questions 36-38, 40-41). These series address different aspects of the students' relation with the teachers and their influence in the school life.

Semi-structured interview for the CI representative

The aims of this procedure were as follows:

- to have the point of view from the CI about the school;
- to check the internal participants (director, teacher, students) perceptions about the relationship with the CI.

The interview covered the following topics:

- a) **Demographic data** (questions 6-8). General information about the interviewee.
- b) **Position** (question 3-5). Information about the position of the interviewee in the organization.
- c) **Rationale and expectations** (questions 9-16). This set of questions seek the views about the role of the CENS in the CI policies, the contribution of the CENS to the CI, the benefits and costs of having a CENS, expectations of the CENS work and satisfaction.
- d) **Students** (questions 17-24). Here we ask for their opinion about the CENS contribution to the students, the student's intake, and criteria for students' labelling.
- e) **Relations with the CENS** (25-37). This topic refers to the relationship of the CI with the CENS, the participation in the school life, PIP, Council.
- f) **Direction** (questions 38-41). This set addresses the opinion the CI has about the work of the director in the school.
- g) **Teachers** (questions 42-46). We ask about the satisfaction of CI with the teachers, their selection and their participation in the selection of teachers.

- h) External relations** (questions 47-53). We question the CI representative about the external relation of the CENS and the CI relations with the State.
- i) Satisfaction and change** (questions 54-55). These two questions are about their satisfaction and attitude to different aspects of the school life e.g. curriculum, syllabi, evaluation, intake, social relations.
- f) Type of CI questions.** We formulated specific questions for the different type of CI, where we expected to find variations.

3.6 Pilot study

Four schools similar to those selected for the main study were chosen for the pilot study. The selection was made to reflect the main sample.

Before the interviews and questionnaires of the main study were undertaken, four directors, 20 teachers (4 were interviewed in order to construct the categories for the closed questions of the questionnaire, the questionnaire was piloted with 10 teachers and six teachers participated in the pilot of the semi-structured interview), 38 students (eight were interviewed to construct the categories of the closed questions of the questionnaire and 30 students participated in the pilot of the questionnaire) and two CI representatives were contacted for the pilot study.

3.6.1 Aims of the pilot study

The general aims of the pilot study were as follows:

- to verify whether the questions could be understood by the interviewees so testing the language and formulation used in the procedures;
- to check whether the responses gave the kind of information required;
- to generate the necessary categories for the closed questions;
- to test the way of administrating the procedures (timing, approach, form of questioning, introduction, etc.);
- to add, replace or eliminate questions;
- to check the sequence of questions;
- to check the lay-out of the questionnaire;
- to update/check the information about the CENS;
- to acquire experience in undertaking this kind of procedures.

3.6.2 Sample of the pilot study³³

The teachers were selected according to gender, age, subject and hours and time in the CENS. The students were selected so that they were in the third school year (the last one of the course) and in terms of gender, age, labour context and years of previous education. The CI representatives were not selected, the two we could contact were those who answered our request for an interview.

3.6.3 Procedure

The first stage of the pilot study was to translate all the procedures from English into Spanish, given that Professor Bernstein himself supervised all procedures prior to their application. The translation showed that some of the concepts or phrases used in English were not understandable in Spanish, like “accountability” which does not have an equivalent word in Spanish.

The semi-structured interviews for directors, teachers and CI representatives were piloted in a similar way. After the introduction of the interviewer and the context of the research the interviews were taken and tape-recorded with the permission of the interviewees. No time limits were set for the interviewees to answer the questions. For the pilot of the semi-structured we contacted four directors, six teachers and two CI representatives. Different aspects were registered by the researcher during and after the interviews: duration of the interview, problems in asking or understanding the questions, the connections that interviewees were making between aspects of the school life as responses to the questions and the questions that the interviewees were concerned to answer or to which they felt uncomfortable.

The teachers’ questionnaire and the students’ questionnaire were treated in a similar way to the pilot study. Both procedures were constructed upon the results obtained in the pilot study. Firstly we interviewed a small sample similar to the sample for the main study, for both teachers and students (four teachers and eight students). The aims of

³³The way the schools were contacted and selected is described in section 3.7 of the main study field-work.

these interviews were to test the open questions to be used in the main study and to have information in order to construct the categories for the closed questions.

Following the interviews we constructed the categories for the closed questions and we re-formulated the open questions. Then we constructed the questionnaires to be piloted. We contacted 10 teachers for the teachers' questionnaire and we delivered the students' questionnaire to 30 students.

We had to re-design the administration of the students' questionnaire. It was not likely to receive much response if we delivered the questionnaire one day and collected it some days later. So on the suggestion of three of the directors, we gave the questionnaires to the students in a break and we waited for the completion. The problem with this procedure was that we might only be able to have the questionnaires from those students who attended the day we went to the school. We finally evaluated this procedure as the more effective.

For all the cases at the end of the interview or when we received the returned questionnaires we asked the participants their opinion about the procedure: clarity, complexity, sequence, missing issues they think could be important to add and whether the vocabulary that was used was understandable and updated to the current situation in the CENS. In all the cases we tested the introduction to the research that we would give to the participants: the aims of the study in general and the aims of the pilot in particular, the context of the study, the confidential treatment of all the information, stressing the fact that I had been a teacher in a CENS.³⁴

All the procedures were checked twice, before and after the pilot study, with two specialist in adult education who knew very well the type of schools (lecturers at the University of Buenos Aires, History of Argentinean Education and Pedagogy respectively), and with two sociologists with a considerable experience in research methods and two ex-directors of CENS one who now is an inspector and the other is out of the system since 1995 and is a consultant in vocational education.

³⁴See in appendix II the introductory letter.

The pilot of the teachers' questionnaire, the students' questionnaire and the CI semi-structured interview were constructed as a consequence of the previous interviews with directors and teachers' questionnaires.

3.6.4 Overall results of the pilot study

The main results of the pilot are as follows:

- We changed the original sequence of questions in all the procedures.
- Some questions were added to obtain new information and others were added to seek information we did not initially consider, and we added questions about students' association that we did not consider before the pilot.
- 30% of the questions needed to be reformulated from the original translation into Spanish.
- Some questions were eliminated because the interviewees referred to them in other questions or because they did not lead to the information we were seeking.
- We added questions about students' association that we did not consider initially.
- The lay out of the students' questionnaire was totally changed, particularly because of problems in reading lower case letters because of the cost of spectacles.

3.7 Main study fieldwork (data gathering process)

We shall describe how the fieldwork was developed, the problems we faced during the process and the specific procedures we used for the data gathering. The fieldwork had four stages which we shall present in the following sections.

3.7.1 Stage I: Contact with the authorities

The first stage of the fieldwork consisted in contacting the authorities of the Department of Adult and Adolescent Education of the Municipality of the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires in order (a) to introduce myself and the research, (b) to ask for formal permission to develop the research in the CENS which are under the authority of that Department and (c) to ask for some information about the CENS.

I had a meeting with the director of the Department of Adult and Adolescent Education where I explained the aims, the context of the research, the main methodological as-

pects, the kind of information I was interested in, the procedures and some ethical aspects such as the confidentiality of the information I was going to gather from the schools and that I would not disturb the school life. I presented, as well, a letter from my supervisor introducing me and the research. The response from the authorities was highly positive and ready to support the research.

From the Department of Adult Education (DEAYA) a series of official documents was gathered: the official curriculum, some of the official syllabi (very few were available) and regulations for the CENS. At the same time, updated information about the CENS was obtained (location, phone, name of director, CI, specialisation). The Director introduced the research to the inspectors, technical and administrative staff of the Department in order to provide the information that might be required.

3.7.2 Stage II: Selection of the schools

The sample was constructed with respect to the dimensions presented in section 3.4. As we said before, the aim was to have maximal variety of forms of regulation in the sample of schools. The three variables considered were: curriculum orientation, type of CI and social background of the students.

We first obtained a list of all the CENS in the city of Buenos Aires³⁵ with the relevant information about curriculum orientation and type of Counterpart Institution.

We grouped the CENS according to the curriculum orientation in three comprehensive categories: administrative oriented, technical oriented and health, social work and communication oriented. These three groups raised from the analysis of the curriculum orientations available considering the area of knowledge that the curricula were oriented to. The distribution of curriculum orientation was as follows:

³⁵See appendix I

Table 3.1: Frequency of CENS by curriculum orientation

Administrative oriented	50 CENS	72%
Technical oriented	9 CENS	13%
Health, social work and communication oriented	10 CENS	15%
Total	69 CENS	100%

As we said before we considered differences in the CI to be crucial and that we expected to find differences in the regulative orientations of different types of CI. We constructed six categories of types of CI (trade unions pro government, trade unions against government, State employers, private employers, catholic and civil associations) which we considered could entail maximal variation, as different positions of the trade unions towards the government would give different regulative orientations as well as between a trade union and a private employer or the church. The distribution of CENS by type of Counterpart Institutions was as follows:

Table 3.2: Frequency of CENS by type of Counterpart Institutions

Trade Unions pro government	18 CENS	26%
Trade Unions against government	13 CENS	19%
State employers	14 CENS	20%
Private employers	6 CENS	9%
Catholic associations	2 CENS	3%
Civil associations	4 CENS	6%
No data available	12 CENS	17%
Total	69 CENS	100%

The categorisation of the trade unions as pro or against the government was made upon the official discourses of the union, particularly considering whether they belong to the “official” confederation of trade unions or to the “oppositional” confederation of trade unions.³⁶

Following both categorisations, curriculum orientation and type of counterpart institution, we combined them taking two different types of curriculum orientations for each type of counterpart institution (we considered together catholic and civil associations because of the small number of CENS available in each group). As the administrative curriculum orientation had the largest number of CENS (72%) we decided to have one administrative oriented CENS per type of counterpart institution.

Having constructed the combinations we asked DEAYA staff and inspectors for information about the social background of the students in order to make the final sample. We tried to have a variety of social backgrounds for each group of CENS. We constructed a very general categorization of students (high and low) to assist the DEAYA staff in terms of whether the students were employed or not, young or old, kind of job and how marginal they were perceived. As we could not have access to primary information³⁷ about the students we consider the information given as merely impressionistic.

All the information about the curriculum orientation, type of CI and general characteristics of the students was obtained from staff of the DEAYA. A first group of four schools was selected to do the pilot and a second group of ten schools was selected for the main study. The ten schools selected for the main study had the following characteristics:

³⁶Since 1993 in Argentina there are two national confederations of trade unions. One is called “official” because it supports the government policies. The other confederation is called “oppositional” because it gathers all the groups which oppose government policies.

³⁷There is not public official information on students demographic composition.

1) Trade Unions

a) With the government:

i.- Administrative orientation (students low)

ii.- Technical orientation (students high)

b) Against the government:

i.- Administrative orientation (students high)

ii.- Technical orientation (students low)

2) Employers

a) Private employers

i.- Administrative orientation (students low)

ii.- Technical orientation (students high)

b) State employers

i.- Administrative orientation (students low)

ii.- Health, social work and communication orientation (students high)

3) Associations

i.- Church, social work orientation (students low)

ii.- Civil association, administrative orientation (students high)

We communicated staff of the DEAYA and the inspectors the sampled schools. They informed the directors of the selected CENS that the Department authorised the research. It was made clear to all the directors that the final decision to participate in the research was theirs. After the introduction by the staff of the DEAYA we contacted the directors, first the group for the pilot sample and then those for the main study.

Some problems arose at the point of contacting the directors of the main study sample. The procedure was to contact the first group of CENS we selected and if we were not successful we replaced that CENS by another with similar characteristics. This process biased the first selection of schools.

One of the CENS which belongs to a Trade Union (with the government) CI selected in first place did not agree to participate, so it had to be replaced for another similar in

characteristics. But the replacement had a different curriculum orientation from that we defined at the beginning. None of the CENS with private employers as CI agreed to participate in the research, some explicitly while others did not respond to the request. Only one of the "State employer" CI's CENS agreed to participate. None of the CENS with CI related to the army or the police agreed to participate. The CENS with a civil association selected in the first stage did not agree to participate. We decided to look for a civil association related to the army but independent. We decided to include here a CI concerned with army veterans.³⁸

The final sample was constituted by seven CENS distributed as follows:

Trade unions:

- two pro government, one technical oriented and one social work oriented
- two against the government, one technical oriented and one administrative oriented

State employer:

- one CENS with administrative orientation

Associations:

- one church CENS with social work orientation
- one civil association indirectly linked to the army with administrative orientation

If we compare our distribution with the distribution of CENS on table 3.2 we have four trade union out of 7 schools selected (45% in the total number of CENS), one State employer out of seven (20% in the total number of CENS) and two associations (which are 9% in the general distribution of CENS). Yet it should be remembered that our aim was not to construct a statistical sample but rather to construct a theoretically motivated sample. Thus we may no claim for generalization of our findings but instead we may well claim we have sampled different ways of regulations as far as it was possible.

³⁸During the process of selection we knew that some CENS did not had CI and as the main criterion for selection was to have as much as variation was possible, we tried to contact one of these CENS. Finally because of different problems of the CENS we could not include them in the sample.

3.7.3 Stage III: Directors' semi-structured interview and teacher's questionnaire.

The first formal contact with the schools was after the directors agreed to have a first meeting to know about the research. In that first meeting both the researcher and the research were introduced. The directors were told about the data which were requested and the means of collecting them. They were informed about the duration of each interview and, the confidentiality of all the information which implied that the directors would not have access to the individual answers of teachers or students. Directors were told that a report for all the schools was going to be prepared with the main results (general information, not detailed).

All the directors were pleased to participate in the research. They reinforced their willingness to participate stating that there was a need to do research about adult education and particularly about the CENS as there was no research about them. Only two out of the seven required authorisation by the Counterpart Institution. The fact that I had been a teacher of this kind of schools and that I was linked to the system of adult education was well received by the directors (and the teachers) because I was not an "outsider". This fact gave confidence to the directors, some of them knew me and those who did not asked about me from people in the DEAYA. All the directors preferred to give me access to the documents of the school only after the interview with them. The semi-structured interview with the directors lasted an average of three hours each. Most of the interviews were done in two sessions, only two interviews were done in one session. All the semi-structured interviews to the directors were recorded on tapes, with the permission of the interviewees. Notes were taken during and after the interview. The interviews were carried out in the school either in the directors' room or in a classroom in the case that the directors' room worked also as the staff room. Only one interview was undertaken in a bar because there was no private place in the school building. The interviews were structured in a way to give space and time to the interviewees to answer the questions. If the interviewees answered a question responding to another it was not asked again, unless we considered that we wanted a more detailed answer. The interviewees were not interrupted while they were answering the questions.

After the interviews were undertaken the directors gave us access to the documents of the school: curriculum (official and actual in the case that they were different), syllabi, class plans, statistics, PIP (if they had one), diagnosis reports (if available).

Once we had finished the directors' semi-structured interviews we made the final adjustments to the teachers' questionnaire in the light of a first view over the directors' interviews. We asked the directors to introduce us to the teachers to arrange a meeting for the interview. After we were introduced by the director we described the research to the interviewees and invited their questions about the research. In all cases we made clear to the interviewees the voluntary character of participating in the research. 67 (83%) teachers out of the 81 possible were contacted to fulfil the questionnaire.

As a rule, both the questionnaire and the interviews to the teachers were undertaken either in a break or before or after their classes (some teachers wanted to suspend the class to answer the interviews but we did not agree). The questionnaires were undertaken in a private space in the school (classroom, staff room). Each questionnaire lasted about 15 minutes. The answers were written down in the report sheets of the questionnaire. In the case of questions with options, these were shown to the interviewees.

We faced some minor problems at this stage. As the teachers had very little free time in the school and some were travelling to work in other schools it was difficult to set the time for the interviews. We had some delays and re-arrangements about the date for the interview had to be made fairly often.

3.7.4 Stage IV: Semi-structured interview for teachers and CI and students' questionnaire

At this stage we had enough information to construct the teachers' semi-structured interview, CI's semi-structured interview and students' questionnaire. The procedure of constructing and piloting are those described in sections 3.5 and 3.6.

The teachers for the semi-structured interview were selected in each CENS by simple random sampling. We selected one teacher out of every three of the staff. 19 (28%) out of the 67 teachers who participated in the research were interviewed at this stage.

The teachers were contacted again through the director and we directly arranged a meeting for the interview. A similar procedure to the directors' semi-structured interviews was followed for the teacher's interviews. At this time of the research all the teachers knew the researcher because they had filled in the questionnaire. Each interview lasted around 80 minutes. Some of these interviews had to be undertaken outside the school because it was impossible to find a private place for more than 30 minutes. The teachers' problems of time made it difficult to contact them. In some schools we were not even able to contact all the selected teachers.

The students sampled for the closed questionnaire were those of the last year of the CENS (year three). There was no selection amongst this group of students. The students who did not participate were those who did not assist to class the day the questionnaire was undertaken. Each director introduced me to the students and we introduced the research and the procedure without the presence of the director. The procedure was to deliver the questionnaire in a break. The students were told that responding to the questionnaire was completely voluntary and the information was going to be treated confidentially. Only one student did not want to participate. 132 (67%) out of 197 year three students participated in answering the questionnaire. There were no problems in gathering these data.

Finally the semi-structured interviews for the CI representatives were undertaken. The contact with the CI always began with the director of the CENS. Then we made direct contact. Only three out of the seven CI responded to the request for an interview. The interviews lasted about one hour. The interviews were recorded and followed a similar procedure to the rest of the semi-structured interviews.

3.7.5 Stage V: Testing results

After a first process of analysis of the collected data, and as part of the main study fieldwork, seven focus group interviews were conducted in order to test and to validate the main results and hypothesis. Five groups were of CENS directors and teachers from schools and the other two were of third year students, all of them were not part of the sampled schools. Each group was composed by eight participants.

Each focus group interview lasted an average of 90 minutes and the researcher conducted the interview. The interviews were tape recorded and an assistant researcher was present taking notes on the interview. The structure of the interview was to present to the groups the main results of each of the four research areas and the general hypothesis we reached from the analysis, then discussion was open to the group.

Finally, a report of the general findings of the research was presented to the seven schools staff who participated in the research. In those meetings the results were discussed with participants.

3.8 Summary of the sample

We shall present now, how the sample was finally constituted. Seven CENS participated in the research; the type of counterpart institution, the curriculum orientation and the social background of the students of each CENS are presented in the table below.

Table 3.3: Counterpart institution and curriculum orientation by CENS

	Counterpart Institution	Curriculum orientation	Students ³⁹
CENS A ⁴⁰	Trade Union against gov.	Administrative	Low
CENS B	Trade Union pro gov.	Social work	Low
CENS C	State employer	Administrative	High
CENS D	Trade Union against gov.	Technical	High
CENS E	Association	Administrative	Low
CENS F	Church	Social work	Low
CENS G	Trade Union pro gov.	Technical	High

³⁹This categorisation of the students social background was that we had for selecting the schools. In chapter 4 we shall present a description of the social background of the students we obtained through the questionnaire.

⁴⁰ An alphabetical naming of the schools will be used because 3 out of the seven directors and more than half of the teachers asked for not being publicly identified.

The directors of the seven CENS were interviewed. Our intention was to deliver the questionnaire to all the teachers (81) in the seven CENS. However, for various reasons e.g. absences, broken appointments, it was possible to contact 67 teachers. Thus the expected sample was reduced by 14 teachers.

19 teachers were interviewed with a semi-structured procedure. As we said before the selection of teachers for the semi-structured interview was a simple random sample, we selected one teacher out of every three of the staff.

In the seven schools 132 out of the 197 student on the final year of the course answered the questionnaire.

Only three CI representatives (CENS E civil association, CENS F church and CENS G trade union pro government) were interviewed. The other four CI representatives (CENS A trade union against the government, CENS B trade union pro government, CENS C State employer and CENS D trade union against the government) did not respond to our requirement for an interview. We do not know the reasons for not responding.

3.9 Data analysis

Firstly I have to say that the analysis was guided and closely supervised (pedagogically biased) by Basil Bernstein, in a systematic and inspiring dialog. In a quite sensitive equilibrium of transmitting knowledge, supporting learning and controlling what is being made. The work on the data was at the same time a mode of acquiring analysis tools developed by Bernstein.

The data analysis was oriented by the principle of relating empirical context references and theoretical framework in order to be able to describe school organization of the selected institution and to produce some theoretical language.

One of the challenges we faced in doing the study, but specially in analysing the data, was to keep a bond amongst the data avoiding to split them or producing fragments of

data in the analysis, being rigorous in order to consider the complexities of the studied object. The use of the theory in the study made it possible to treat analytically at the same time the complex different layers, sources and types of data.

The set of collected data (official and school documents, interviews, questionnaires) was firstly analysed separately in the following order: 1) official documents and statistics, 2) school documents and statistics, 3) Students questionnaires, 4) teachers questionnaires, 5) teachers interviews, 6) directors interviews, 7) CI representatives' interviews. The analysis of each source was followed by a cross analysis through the different sources of data of the related questions and topics, considering various dimensions, weighing the significance of each one. Finally the results were studied all together in a common multi-layer matrix.

The process of analysis for both official and school documents consisted, in a first approximation, in processing general information on regulations about the studied schools concerning curriculum structures and syllabi, regulations about pedagogic practice, forms of government, administrative structures and procedures, regulation on staff and students activities, forms of intake, disciplinary regulations, official forms of assessment and promotion. Subsequently, we did a general analysis of the meanings present in the texts; summarizing significant meanings and conceptualizing them, and then the results were contrasted between the official discourses at each studied school level and amongst schools.

In the case of both questionnaires of students and teachers, the answers were first grouped and coded under categories created for the purpose of the research. The open ended questions were coded after reading a random sample of answers. This first coding was tested across the whole sample. Finally the coding was modified and refined by this process during the course of the analysis.

The analysis of students questionnaires was made crossing each question by gender, age, work context (both employment and occupation), previous education and by CENS. The teachers questionnaires were initially studied considering that similarities and differences among teachers would be related to their gender, age, years of service, work con-

text, CENS, subject area of teaching and form of appointment. A general analysis of teachers' interviews was done before doing a CENS oriented analysis, particularly to find what was the significance of the CENS against other dimensions (i.e. subject area of teaching, gender, etc.).

The analysis of the interviews was mainly done upon construction of networks. We followed the methodology designed by Bernstein and others (Bernstein, 1973; Cook Gumperz, 1973; Pedro, 1981). Following Pedro (1981; 205) "The network established the link between the theory and reality, by stating the rules through which the relation between the referential and the theory are specified." The construction of networks allowed us to translate interviewees' responses into the language of the theory and to test the theory to conceptualize the responses, also to detect if theory was not capable of conceptualizing some responses.

We made the coding for analysis on the total answer of the interviewees. We did not establish any *a priori* criteria for selection, all responses were considered as potentially codeable. At the same time if a response to a question referred to another issue not directly linked to the starting question it was considered apart and connected and coded to the respective issue.

The first step, after typing down all the recorded interviews, was to identify segments of meanings in each response. Segments from the responses were identified by a code number, in order to be able to go back to them. Then for each segment a word or expression was selected, taking that from the own words of the interviewees, which condensed or represented the meaning of the speech segment.

"The network, although fragmenting the text, does not prevent the recovery of sequence. The network is 'open-ended in delicacy' as Halliday also states (Halliday, 1973, p 76), and it is possible to generate a scale of choices leading from the most general to the most particular." (Pedro, 1981; 205)

The next step was to list every word or expression linked to each segment from all the interviewees of a type (i.e. teachers, directors, CI representatives) and setting them by question. After that we grouped similar meanings or equal words, checking the meaning with the correspondent segment of the interview. The first list of choices was taken from

those groups. This list was set at the right wing of the future network. This side of the network will be considered the idiosyncratic level of the network, the closest one to the interviewees' proper responses.

After having the choices at the idiosyncratic level, we started grouping them in order to classify them, in this second level, we tried not to use the theory and to construct a low level conceptualization, meaning that we tried to give the group a name close to the idiosyncratic meanings. The other one or two levels of groupings were classified considering the language of the theory in the case that there was an available concept within it which matched with the grouping.

A final conceptual work was done over the networks before testing them. The figure and form resulting of the construction of the networks taking the base on the responses of the interviewees marks silences and empty spaces / choices. We tried to complete the networks without distorting the basic structure elicited from the given responses. This completion was done following the logic of the choices already taken and also taking from the theoretical model possibilities of choices or sub-networks. This would allow on one hand to have a sense of the absent meanings, silences which give shape as a background on the figure to the actual responses obtained. On the other hand it would allow using the network beyond the limits of this research and not only for analysing the interviews taken in this research.

After having constructed the networks two tests were made for validating them. First we made a cross reference analysis of the choices and the categories where they were grouped going back to the original transcript of the interviews, checking if the final categories were appropriate. Then we gave to other two researchers the complete networks and with a sample of interviews they checked the networks. A final checking was made with a sample of interviews.

Finally all the interviews were coded in the constructed networks. Some of the interviewees' answers to some questions did not have a high number of options which would allow us to construct a network, so they were summarised and conceptualised afterwards.

As we have already presented in a previous section of this chapter, the hypothesis were also checked with 7 groups using a focus group technique. As the final step of the analysis and the research, after having analysed all the results from all the sources we contrasted the results with participants of the research of the seven schools.

4. EMPIRICAL CONTEXT AND GENERAL FEATURES OF THE SAMPLE

4.1. A brief history of CENS (Centros Educativos de Nivel Secundario)⁴¹ and general features

Before the creation of CENS any adult (over 18 years old) who wanted to obtain a secondary education certificate had to attend a “secondary night school”. These schools had the same curriculum and structure than “regular” secondary schools⁴². However most of the students who used to attend those schools were teenagers who dropped out the regular secondary school, generally due to disciplinary problems. The situation briefed above made those “night schools” not attractive to adult people.

In 1970 the Ministry of Education signed an agreement with the Organization of American States in order to develop the “Plan Experimental Multinacional de Educación de Adultos” (Multinational Experimental Plan for Adult Education). As part of this Plan a secondary level program for adult people was designed, and it was located under the supervision of the National Direction of Adult Education (DINEA). The institutional form the program took for adult secondary education was the CENS, Centro Educativo de Nivel Secundario (Secondary Level Educational Centre)⁴³. A series of characteristics differentiates CENS from the rest of the secondary schools:

⁴¹ Educational Centers for Secondary Level.

⁴² Some features of the common secondary schools are: the duration of the course is five years, students must attend daily five hours and a half, the curriculum is oriented to general education (only a small group of institutions has relation with vocational areas).

⁴³ Decree 1.316, July 27th 1970; National Ministry of Culture and Education.

- All CENS have a vocational curriculum orientation.
- Three hours 20 minutes of attendance per day (five days weekly), instead of five hours.
- Three years of final duration, instead of five years.
- Reformed curriculum structure, particularly less subjects (i.e.: gymnastic, artistic education, music, one foreign language instead of two), organized by areas instead of subjects.
- Suppression of exams as the means of learning promotion, replaced by a “conceptual evaluation”.
- Initially the CENS certificate did not allow students to continue their studies on further education institution, to do so they had to pass a final exam, this was modified later and currently the CENS certificate is a valid one to enter to higher education institutions.

Two main distinctive features characterize CENS:

(a) A school can only be created if a civil organization such as a church, a civil association, a union, a firm, asks to the State's permission to open the school, given that the State cannot create by itself a school as it does with the rest of the educational system. Under the regulation of CENS an organization (the Counterpart Institution, CI) is which must ask the State to set up a school. For doing so the organization must submit a project to the State arguing the need to create a school in a given region, and it has to demonstrate the demand of the vocational curriculum orientation in the labour market of the region. The spaces and infrastructure where the teaching would be developed should be those of the CI, using those every day life spots of adult people. Moreover CI has to supply all the material resources needed for teaching (from books for the library to any other device).

(b) The second distinctive feature is that the State and the CI, in association, design the curriculum of CENS. The State defines the general knowledge areas of the curriculum, common to all CENS, and the CI makes a proposal of the curriculum vocational orientation and the correspondent specialisation subjects (15% of the curriculum at the begin-

ning of the Program, then it increased to 40% of the time), which the State should approve. The specialisation area has specific subjects depending on the vocational orientation of the curriculum, which takes 40% of the curriculum distributed in a sequence by which the first and second year of studies covers approximately 30% of the time and in year three it takes more than the 50% of the time

The structure of the curriculum is as follows:

General Education Field					
General Area	Subject	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Total time
Sciences	Mathematic	4 ⁴⁴	4	2	10
	Biology	2	-	-	2
	Health education	-	2	-	2
	Physics	-	2	-	2
	Chemistry	-	-	2	2
Social Sciences	History and Geography	4	3	3	10
	Civic Education	2	-	-	2
	Philosophy and Psychology	-	2	-	2
	Sociology	-	-	2	2
Communication	Spanish language and literature	5	4	-	9
	Literature	-	-	2	2
Vocational Education Field					
Specialisation Area	Subject	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Total time
	English	2	2	2	6
	Specific subjects	6	6	12	24

Other of the key features of CENS at its foundation consisted of their potential audience being specifically workers. This was regulated asking those applying a working certificate. Nowadays this certificate is not required and there are only two basic conditions to enter the school: to be over 18 and to have a primary level official certificate.

CENS have been subject to the movements that the educational policies have had during the last 30 years in Argentina⁴⁵. During the first years after their creation, CENS were confined to the small number of institutions (5) initially opened. During the 18

⁴⁴ The figures represent the number of modules per week that correspond to a subject. Each module is equivalent to 40 minutes.

⁴⁵ See Filmus (1992); Rodríguez, Lidia (1991, 1997); Roitenburd et al. (2005); Wiñar (2005).

months of the Peronist government between 1973 to 1976, CENS had an impulse in terms of numbers and in terms of being incorporated as a crucial axis of the educational policy, specially regarding the linkage of the curriculum contents with the social and economic context, the creation of new services, particularly with worker unions and other popular organizations. During the military dictatorship between 1976 and 1983 this emphasis and expansion was, at least, “suspended”. During that period some schools were closed, students and teachers were and still are “*desaparecidos*” (disappeared). The schools that were functioning in some of the most powerful worker unions remain teaching but in a reduced form, we can say that they were hidden within the unions. After the democratic opening in 1984 a new impulse was given to this kind of schools, consistently it had a considerable increment in the adult population demanding secondary education that reflected in the numbers of CENS students.⁴⁶

4.2. CENS current official regulation

Back in 1992, in Argentina a decentralisation process was implemented from the National State Educational Ministry to the provincial authorities. Because of it, the initial, primary and secondary levels of the educational system are nowadays ruled by the government of each province (24 provinces including the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires). This is also the case of the adult education subsystem.

The Secretary of Education of the Autonomous Government of the City of Buenos Aires enacted the CENS regulation in 1994. In the following section we present a summary of key features of this regulation.

CENS Regulation, Decree 349, March 1994. Secretary of Education of the Government of the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires

The decree starts with an introduction that displays arguments about the importance of the secondary education for adult people. It sustains that:

“The systematic adult education does not only constitute an improvement of individual expectations. It represents a need of any country that, in the beginning of the twenty-first century, intends to itself in the high level of knowledge and production that the contemporary world requires.”

⁴⁶ See Secretaría de Educación GCABA (1999, 2003)

The introduction states two major aims for CENS:

“to improve the labour situation of the adult people and to open the access to further education”.

The rationale for both aims is related following the text of the regulation with, “...the high levels of unemployment, the economic crisis and the development of new technologies”. The combination of those elements of the Argentinean reality “...makes the secondary level certification a key element in order to improve the quality of life of adult population.”.

The decree regulates the government of the CENS, it defines the staff with a direction position and a secretariat for the school administrative functioning. In addition, it establishes a CENS Council that is a collegial advisory body to the head of the school, which will be described further on.

With respect to the procedure by which the head is appointed, up to this regulation the head of the CENS was appointed by the Direction of Adult and Adolescent Education (DEAyA) selected from a list of three candidates proposed by the Counterpart Institution (CI). This new decree establishes a public selection procedure in which considers the following elements: expertise in the area, time in service in adult education, references and a public examination (oral and written). For a period of two years since the enactment of the decree, the priority to cover the position was given to teachers who belong to the staff of the CENS for a minimum of three years (*Art.3 Appointment*).

The Director's Functions and Duties (Art. 5th) can be listed as follows:

- S/he is responsible of the management of pedagogic and administrative aspects.
- The Director is the official representative of the CENS.
- S/he leads the process of elaboration and gives *approval* to the Institutional Plan.
- S/he enforces this regulation.
- S/he must have meetings with the staff according to the school calendar.
- The Director is the president and the caller of the Council sessions, (these meetings must be done a minimum of three times during the academic year).

- S/he is the responsible for the punishments, but the CENS Council has to agree on the punishments.
- S/he must inform the staff and students about the information which comes from the Direction of Adult and Adolescence Education (DEAyA).
- The Director will receive the applications for equivalencies and s/he must send such documentation to the DEAyA.

The following actors are members of the CENS Council (Art. 10th):

- a) Director (is the president of the Council);
- b) Secretary (is the secretary of the Council);
- c) two representatives from the teachers (elected by their peers);
- d) two representatives from the students (elected by their peers);
- e) the Counter-part Institution must be invited to participate with two representatives.

The Functions and duties of the Council are (Art. 11th):

- It advises the Director in all the matters about the functioning of the CENS.
- It must unify criteria for a harmonic life in the CENS, and contribute solutions to conflicts.
- It collaborates on the co-ordination for the Participative Institutional Plan (PIP) with the educational community and it collaborates with the “Living together” Record (according to the regulations of the central level). According to the circular 2/93 of the DEAyA the aim of the PIP is to “facilitate the organization and planning of all the activities of the CENS.” The document defines the PIP as “an instrument to share decisions and actions among all the actors involved in the CENS life (director, staff, students, CI and the community). Which would allow the integration of all the members of the CENS, and it would allow an integral assessment of the plan.” The circular also states that the form that the PIP takes, for submitting it, is a matter decided by the CENS. The DEAyA “expects the whole CENS working on a plan for the school and it does not expect the secretary of the school fulfilling one more form to be submitted as a formal procedure.” In the regulation the DEAyA “suggests a series of topics that CENS may consider as articulators of the PIP:

- a) Education and work relationship.
 - b) The labour culture.
 - c) Pedagogic common criteria.
 - d) Relation with the community.
 - e) Relation with firms and other organisations related with the CENS curriculum orientation.
 - f) Criteria for students outcomes.
- The Council collaborates on the assessment of the Participative Institutional Plan
 - It analyses conflicts of any member of the CENS related with the application of the rules established in the “Living together” record of the CENS.
 - It defines punishments to students.
 - It generates proposals to establish relationships with community institutions (i.e. research, production, social services, cultural services, commercial services, sports, etc.).
 - It decides about those students’ situations who do not accomplish the compulsory 75% of attendance in some subjects (having a 60% minimum of attendance).

The Council must meet at least three times per academic year. The Director or any member of the Council may call for a session. Both students and teachers representatives should be elected through a secret vote system. The vote is compulsory for all students and teachers. The teachers’ representatives should have more than one year in the school to be elected as representatives. The students’ representatives should be on the 2nd or 3rd year to be elected as representatives. The CI designates its own representatives. Representatives are appointed to the Council for one year and they may be re-elected.

Briefly the staff functions and duties are:

- They must submit an Annual Subject Plan (which has to be planed according to the Participative Institutional Plan).
- They must participate in the exams.
- They must attend the staff meetings.

- They are in charge of controlling students' attendance in their subject time.
- They must respect the "hierarchy line" on the school.

The regulation establishes an "Initial Workshop for Diagnosis and Integration" (TIID)⁴⁷ which should be carried out during the first two weeks of the year with the year one students. The CENS regulation establishes two main aims for this activity: (a) to facilitate the integration of the individuals in the life of the school and in the class group, and (b) it is a period in which teachers should collect diagnostic information about the students' academic standard. In the decree, this is organized into two different areas:

- "a) Human and institutional integration. This area seeks the students' adaptation to the CENS life and the knowledge of each other towards the conformation of an integrated group.
- b) Diagnosis of learning difficulties. Here teachers of each area should find out about the learning difficulties each student has in order to prepare a plan adjusted to the specific group."

The regulation also establishes the possibility of having a students association. This has two main purposes: one related to extra curricular activities that students may organize and secondly to administrate money (which is collected from the students) for buying goods students may need for their tasks at school. The regulation also refers to the possibility that the students association could work as a students union, but it forbids the action of political parties. The regulation forbids directors and teachers to be involved in the association. The administration of the money must be run by students and any payment must be voluntary.

⁴⁷ Taller Inicial de Integración y Diagnóstico (TIID).

4.3. General characteristics of the schools in the sampled.

As we presented in the methodological chapter, seven CENS formed the final sample⁴⁸:

Table 4.1: Counterpart institution and curriculum orientation by CENS

	Counterpart Institution	Curriculum orientation
CENS A	Trade Union against gov.	Administrative
CENS B	Trade Union pro gov.	Social work
CENS C	State employer	Administrative
CENS D	Trade Union against gov.	Technical
CENS E	Association	Administrative
CENS F	Church	Social work
CENS G	Trade Union pro gov.	Technical

In order to give a first general image of the schools we present below the total number of students and teachers of the seven sampled CENS.

Table 4.2: Number of Students (total) and gender by CENS

	Total students	Female students
CENS A	188	105
CENS B	120	75
CENS C	96	44
CENS D	143	81
CENS E	190	120
CENS F	67	None ⁴⁹
CENS G	74	26

⁴⁸ In Appendix I we present the complete list of curriculum orientation and CI.

⁴⁹ CENS F is **only** for male students (the CI of this CENS is a Roman Catholic church bishopric and the school works in the building of the seminary for priests of the bishopric where female students are not allowed)

Table 4.3: Distribution of teachers by CENS

CENS	Total
CENS A	7
CENS B	16
CENS C	11
CENS D	14
CENS E	11
CENS F	8
CENS G	14
Total	81(100%)

In the following sections we shall present the attributes of those school actors who participated in the research, that is directors, teachers and students.

4.3.1 General attributes of the heads

Only one out of the seven heads is female (CENS B). Four directors were aged between 35 to 39 (CENS A, D, E and G), one between 45 to 49 (CENS C) and two between 55 to 59 (CENS B and F). Only two directors (B and G) have a university degree equivalent to a Master in Education in the English system. The rest of the directors have teachers' diploma, provided by teacher training colleges. All the directors have a second job. Two directors are teachers in standard secondary schools (for teenagers); one teaches in another CENS, one is a director of a standard secondary school, two are readers at the university and one is a civil servant.

With respect to the appointment, four directors were appointed by the CI (CENS D, E, F, G). The other three directors (CENS A, B and C) were appointed by the inspector. Only two directors (C and G) were founders of their CENS whereas the rest of the directors were the second head holding that position in their CENS. Five out of the seven interviewees had three to five years in the position; the other two directors (CENS A and C) held the position for 15 years.

4.3.2 Characteristics of the sampled students

In this section, we will describe the characteristics of the contacted year three students of the sampled schools. The sample is composed by 132 out of a total number of 197 third year students. We shall examine students' attributes (age and gender), their pedagogic biography (educational history) and students' work context (employment and occupation).

a) Attributes

As a first step to the characterisation of the students we will present gender and age attributes of the students. We shall particularly consider their distribution by CENS as the gender and age distribution may have consequences for teaching and for the management of social order.

Gender

The gender composition of the students was as follows:

Table 4.4: Gender composition of sampled students

	Frequency	Percent
Female	59	45
Male	73	55
Total	132	100

The analysis of the distribution of gender by school shows that CENS B and E have a larger participation of females than the rest of the CENS. CENS G has more male students. CENS F is only for male students (the CI of this CENS is a Roman Catholic church bishopric and the school works in the building of the seminary for priests of the bishopric where female students are not allowed).

Table 4.5: Gender distribution by CENS

CENS	Female	Male	Total
CENS A	10	9	19
CENS B	19	11	30
CENS C	6	8	14
CENS D	5	6	11
CENS E	14	5	19
CENS F	-	21	21
CENS G	5	13	18
Total	59	73	132

Age

The distribution falls into three groups: 57 (43%) students in the age group between 18 to 24 years old, 49 (37%) students aged between 25 to 39 years old and 26 students (20%) belong to the 40-55 age group (Table 4.6).

Table 4.6: Age of the students

	Frequency	Percent
-18	1	0.8
19-24	56	42.4
25-29	18	13.6
30-34	19	14.4
35-39	12	9.1
40-44	8	6.1
45-49	7	5.3
50-54	8	6.1
55	3	2.3
Total	132	100

When we examined the age distribution of the students by CENS (Table 4.7), we found that CENS C and E have proportionally an older group of students than the rest of the sample. However, CENS D has the largest group of young students (ten students out of eleven belong to the group 19-29 years old).

Table 4.7: Age by CENS

Age	CENS A	CENS B	CENS C	CENS D	CENS E	CENS F	CENS G	Total
-18	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
19-24	11	15	2	7	5	9	7	56
25-29	1	4	1	3	1	4	4	18
30-34	1	6	3	-	4	2	3	19
35-39	3	2	1	-	4	1	1	12
40-44	2	1	2	-	1	2	-	8
45-49	1	1	2	-	1	-	2	7
50-54	-	-	3	1	2	2	-	8
55+	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	3
Total	19	30	14	11	19	21	18	132

We considered the students' age distribution by gender. The male students are younger, relatively speaking, than the female students. 38 (52%) out of the 73 male students belong to the 19-24 years old age group. On the other hand, the female students under the age of 24 are 18 (30%) of the 59 female students.

Table 4.8: Age by gender

	Female	Male	Total
-18	-	1	1
19-24	18	38	56
25-29	6	12	18
30-34	11	8	19
35-39	7	5	12
40-44	3	5	8
45-49	5	2	7
50-54	6	2	8
55+	3	-	3
Total	59	73	132

b) Students' pedagogic biography

Students' pedagogic biography refers to the educational history of the students. We considered two main features: the type of school students attended previously and length of secondary level studies they had attended before entering the CENS.⁵⁰ The table below shows the students' distribution by type of school attended previously to become CENS' students:

Table 4.9: Type of school in previous education

	Frequency	Percent
Primary	19	14.4
Secondary technical	29	22.0
Secondary <i>bachaloriat</i>	47	35.6
Secondary commercial	35	26.5
Other	2	1.5
Total	132	100.0

⁵⁰ In order to be accepted in a CENS an individual must have at least the primary school certificate (which means the compulsory period of education -seven years- in Argentina). Some adult students might have some years of studies in what we called "standard" secondary education, which is attended by individuals in the "expected" chronological age, 13-17 years old. At the time the students of the CENS would attend secondary school there were three different types: technical, commercial and *bachaloriat*.

86% of the students had some “standard / regular” secondary school. There are no differences between students by CENS neither with respect to primary or secondary school participation nor in the type of secondary school attended. However, we want to call attention to the fact that the number of sampled students who had participated in technical oriented schools in their previous studies is far larger than the national average, which is around 15%.

If we look at table 4.10 below, we can see that male students were in education longer than the female students were. Grouping those students who have only primary education and those who left the secondary school in the first year, we can see that female students outnumber male students (22/16). If we group those who have second and third year of the standard secondary school and those who have forth and fifth year of the secondary school, we find that male students are proportionally over-represented.

Table 4.10: Year of leaving secondary school by gender

	Female	Male	Total
0 (only primary)	11	8	19
1	11	8	19
2	13	23	36
3	20	25	45
4	3	6	9
5	1	3	4
Total	59	73	132

As we can see in table 4.10 above, the largest group is that of the students who left the standard secondary school in the year three (of five years course), 45 (34%) out of 132 students. These figures match with the results of studies about dropout in regular secondary education in Argentina (INDEC, 1996), which found that the dropout is concentrated in the third year of the course. The fact that only 14% of the students had only primary school education is very important to understand who succeeds in the CENS, particularly if we compare the distribution we found in our sample with the national figures of the educational level of the population. According to the updated national survey

before collection of the data (INDEC 1996) in Argentina 85% of the population over 18 years old have completed primary school. Only two thirds of those who finish the primary school continue studying in the secondary education and only 35% of those who started the secondary education complete the course. The educational level of the students of our sample is higher than the general figures of the country for those who finish the primary school, whereas in the general figures of the country only two thirds of those who finish primary school continue in the secondary school. In our sample 86% of the students had participated in secondary school. It seems that CENS, at least those we selected, attract and select those adults with higher educational level.

c) Students' work context

Here we will examine two features of the students' work context: employment and occupation. Both features will be considered for the analysis of this questionnaire and the interviews as a possible influence on the pedagogic practices in each school.

Employment

72% of the students (95 out of 132) had a job at the time of the fieldwork⁵¹. 22 students out of the 32 who did not have a job belong to the 19-24 age group. The gender variable does not relate to employment. We found that CENS C is the only one in which all the students were working. However, CENS F is the only one where half of the students (ten of the twenty one) were unemployed at the time of the research.

Table 4.11: Employment frequency

	Frequency	Percent
Employed	95	72
Unemployed	32	24
Housewife	5	4
Total	132	100

⁵¹ At the time the field work was done the national rate of unemployment was 20.4% (INDEC 1996).

Occupation (type of job)

The question on occupation was an open one. We grouped the students' answers into five categories (supervising, manual high and medium, manual low, clerical medium and clerical low) according to three aspects: whether it was manual or not, whether they supervise others and the level of qualification of the job⁵². The distribution of type of job among the students was as follows:

Table 4.12: Frequency of students by type of job

	Frequency	Percent
Supervising	13	9.8
Manual h+m	27	20.5
Clerical medium	27	20.5
Clerical low	33	25
Manual low	26	19.7
No answer	6	4.5
Total	132	100

Female students have lower positions than male students do. 54% (32/59) of the female students have “low” position jobs, on the other hand only 37% (27/73) of the male students have this level of qualification in the position they are employed in. In the “manual low” category female students double male students, whilst the situation is reversed in “manual high” and “medium”.

⁵² We follow the general categories of the Argentinean National Statistical Institute. The examples we give below are taken from students responses.

Supervising: responsible of part of a process of production, in charge of people in an office (private or public sector) or in a factory.

Manual high and medium: skilled manual work, e.g. mechanic technician, telecommunication controller, nurse, craft (e.g. in wood).

Manual low: unskilled manual work, e.g. cleaner, parking boy, gas station attendance, worker in a plastic bags factory.

Clerical medium: skilled clerical work, e.g. accountant assistant, low level secretary, phone operator, paper work.

Clerical low: unskilled clerical work, e.g. office boy/girl, who takes photocopies in an office, gives information about location of offices in a public building.

Table 4.13: Type of job by gender

	Female	Male	Total
Supervising	5	8	13
Manual H + M	8	19	27
Clerical Medium	10	17	27
Clerical Low	15	18	33
Manual Low	17	9	26
No answer	4	2	6
Total	59	73	132

The largest concentration of unemployed students is among those who had “low” position jobs. These students are 20 of the 32 students who are unemployed. Nine of these students had manual jobs and eleven clerical jobs.

Table 4.14: Type of job by employment

	Employed	Unemployed	Housewife	Total
Supervis- ing	13	-	-	13
Manual h+m	20	6	1	27
Clerical m	25	2	-	27
Clerical low	21	11	1	33
Manual low	16	9	1	26
No answer	-	4	2	6
	95	32	5	132

The younger the students the lower the job status (see table 4.15). Grouping together those students who are under 34 years old and comparing them with those students over 35 years, we found that 53% of the first group (<34) had low position jobs. However, only 26% of the students who belong to the second group (>35) had this type of job. It is important to notice that the largest concentration of low position jobs is in the age group 19-24 years old, 33 out of 56 students; at the same time these students are 56% (33 out of 59) of the total low position job students.

Table 4.15: Students' occupation by age

	-18	19-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55+	Total
Supervising		4	1		2	2	2	1	1	13
Manual h+m	1	8	5	6	2	1	1	2	1	27
Clerical m		9	3	5	3	2	3	1	1	27
Clerical low		21	4	3	1	1	1	2		33
Manual low		11	5	5	3	1		1		26
No answer		3			1	1		1		6
Total	1	56	18	19	12	8	7	8	3	132

CENS A and D have half of the students with “low position” jobs; CENS E has almost half (8 out of 19) of the students in “low position” jobs. CENS B has 19 (63%) out of the 30 students in “low position” jobs. On the other hand, CENS C, F and G have less than one third of the students in these positions.

Table 4.16: Students Occupation by CENS

	CENS A	CENS B	CENS C	CENS D	CENS E	CENS F	CENS G	To- tal
Supervising	1	3	4	-	2	1	2	13
Manual h+m	3	3	-	1	4	11	5	27
Clerical m	4	5	6	2	4	1	5	27
Clerical low	3	13	4	5	2	1	5	33
Manual low	7	6	-	1	6	5	1	26
No answer	1	-	-	2	1	2	-	6
	19	30	14	11	19	21	18	132

There is no relation between education and occupation. It is slightly related to high positions, but clearly not for levels below.

Table 4.17: Leaving secondary school by type of job

	0	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Supervising	1	1	3	5	2	1	13
Manual h+m	1	4	11	9	2		27
Clerical m	9	5	5	6	1	1	27
Clerical low	2	4	8	17	1	1	33
Manual low	4	5	7	7	2	1	26
Housewife	2		2	1	1		6
Total	19	19	36	45	9	4	132

4.3.3 Summary of characteristics of the sampled students

The sampled students constitute a young group (72% between 18 to 34 years old) almost equally distributed between female (45%) and male students (55%). Male students are younger than the female and with longer participation in education. Whereas 71% of the students had attended at least two years of the standard secondary school, younger students had longer participation in education. 72% of the students held paid employment at the time of the research. We found that female students and younger students have lower job positions (clerical and manual low) and are more likely to be unemployed. However, it is important to notice that only 45% students (59 out of 132) had “low position” jobs.

We would like to stress two features of the sampled students, particularly in relation to national figures. First, the length of participation in education is above the national rates; secondly, the number of unemployed individuals is larger than the national figures. We will examine these issues in the chapters where we analyze the data.

CENS C and E have the oldest students of the sample and CENS D the youngest. CENS B and E have more female students and CENS G more male students (CENS F has only male students). There are no differences between CENS with respect to students' educational history. However there are differences with respect to the work context of the students. In CENS C all the students have paid work and on the other extreme CENS F has 50% of the students unemployed. CENS F and G have less number of students with low-level jobs than the other five schools.

The differences we found in gender, age and occupation between CENS confirms the sampling procedure, which was designed to produce variation in the students' population of the selected schools. Thus from the point of view of this variation we may have a sample of variations in CENS.

4.4 Teachers' characteristics

In this section, we shall describe the attributes of those teachers who answered the questionnaire in reference to general attributes, their pedagogic biography (excluding some aspects that will be reported later) and work context.

4.4.1 Teachers' attributes

Here we shall describe gender and age attributes of the teachers. Other attributes that were gathered such as marital status or number of children have not significant relation to any of the variables.

Gender

Both female and male teachers took part in the study. Forty-five female teachers (67%) and twenty-two male teachers (33%) completed the questionnaire. One third of the male teachers (8 out of the 22) are teachers of the "specialisation not humanistic" subject-area⁵³. While only 6 (13%) out of the 45 female teachers belong to this category (see Table 4.18).

⁵³We grouped the subjects taught in the CENS in six categories in order to handle the information. The general areas refer to those subjects which are part of the 60% of the curriculum which is common to all

Table 4.18: Gender by subject area

	Female	Male	Total
General humanistic	14	8	22
General not humanistic	9	3	12
Specialisation humanistic	9	2	11
Specialisation not humanistic	6	8	14
General and Specialisation humanistic	3	1	4
General and Specialisation not humanistic	3	1	4
Total	45	22	67

Age

Seventy five percent of the sample consisted of teachers aged between 26 to 45. Very few individuals find themselves in the other age groups (see table 4.19).

Table 4.19: Teachers distributed by age

Age	Frequency	Percent
- 25	1	1.5
26-30	10	14.9
31-35	20	29.9
36-40	11	16.4
41-45	11	16.4
46-50	4	6.0
51-55	7	10.4
56-60	2	3.0
61+	1	1.5
Total	67	100.0

the CENS and that is defined by the State. The specialisation areas refer to those subjects which are specific of the curriculum orientation of the CENS and are part of the 40% of the curriculum which is proposed by the Counterpart Institution. The categories are as follows:

General humanistic refers to teachers who teach subjects such as History or Spanish.

General not humanistic refers to subjects such as Mathematics or Physics

Specialisation humanistic refers to subjects such as Social work or Political economy

Specialisation not humanistic refers to subjects such as Accountancy or Electronics

Both general and specialisation humanistic and not humanistic refer to teachers who teach in both areas at the same CENS.

As we can see in table 4.20, there are no significant differences between the schools with respect to teachers' age distribution.

Table 4.20: Teachers' age distribution by CENS

	CENS A	CENS B	CENS C	CENS D	CENS E	CENS F	CENS G	Total
< 25	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
26-30	1	-	3	3	2	-	1	10
31-35	2	4	1	3	4	2	4	20
36-40	-	2	2	2	1	3	1	11
41-45	-	3	-	3	1	2	2	11
46-50	-	1	-	1	-	-	2	4
51-55	2	3	1	1	-	-	-	7
56-60	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	2
> 60	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Total	5	14	9	13	8	7	11	67

4.4.2 Pedagogic biography of the teachers

We consider as pedagogic biography of the teachers three different features that might influence them as teachers: their educational qualifications and training history, the nature of the teaching service with respect to length and service in adult education and the literature and models teachers feel had influenced their teaching practice. In this chapter, which main aim is to give some general information of the sampled schools, we will only report educational qualification, training and years of service. Literature and model of teaching will be handled in following chapters.

Educational qualification and training

In order to teach in a CENS individuals must have either a teaching certificate (four years study in a teaching training college) or a university diploma (a minimum of five years study). In our sample, we found that 42 (63%) teachers out of the 67 have teaching certificates and 25 (37%) teachers have university diplomas. There are no gender

differences with respect to the educational qualification, and age is not significant. The teachers who have a university diploma are distributed across all the subject-areas. Only CENS D has a majority of teachers (10 out of 13) with a university diploma. The other six CENS have a relatively similar distribution of teachers with both types of educational qualifications.

With respect to in service training all the teachers had undertaken at least one course either about some contents of the subject they teach (45%) or about themes related to the pedagogy of the subject they teach (55%). There are no relevant differences or similarities between these two groups. A very small number of teachers had undertaken courses related to adult education, only 5 of the total sample.

Years of service in teaching

Thirty-eight teachers (57%) have been teaching from two to ten years. Nineteen teachers (28%) were between their eleventh and twentieth year of teaching. Only two teachers were in the first year of their teaching career and only one had been teaching for more than thirty-one years (Table 4.21).

Table 4.21: Frequency of teachers by years of service in teaching

Years of service in teaching	Number of teachers	Percent
0-1	2	3.0
2-5	13	19.4
6-10	25	37.3
11-15	9	13.4
16-20	10	14.9
21-30	7	10.4
31 +	1	1.5
Total	67	100.0

Forty two percent of the teachers (28 teachers) have been working in adult education from two to five years. One third of the teachers belong to the group who started working in adult education ten to six years ago. Only five individuals began teaching at the time of the research. Very few participants have more than sixteen years of service in adult education. (Table 4.22)

Table 4.22: Teachers by years of service in adult education

Years in adult education	Number of teachers	Percent
0-1	5	7.5
2-5	28	41.8
6-10	23	34.3
11-15	7	10.4
16-20	3	4.5
21-30	1	1.5
Total	67	100.0

4.4.3 Work context of the teachers

44 (66%) out of the 67 teachers have teaching jobs in other institutions. The average teaching time of this group is 32 hours per week. Only five teachers of the sample do not have a second job. 18 (27%) out of the 67 teachers have a full time non-teaching job (this is possible because most of the CENS work during the evening). Eighteen out of the sixty-seven teachers were looking for another job at the time of the research (only two of these 18 teachers did not have a second job).

It is interesting that more than half of the staff of CENS E and G (both with technical curriculum orientations) have a second professional job strongly related to the subject they are teaching.

4.4.4 Summary of the general characteristics of the sampled teachers.

So far, we have described the teachers' attributes (gender and age), some elements of their pedagogic biography (educational qualifications and training, years of service) and

the work context of the teachers. Now we shall briefly comment upon this characterisation of the teachers.

The gender composition of the teachers (45 female, 22 male) will be considered in the general analysis, particularly of the teachers' questionnaire. We will not consider the age variable as it does not vary between groups.

We will examine whether the pedagogic biography of the teachers may have some implications for their responses. As we saw in the Pedagogic biography, gender, age and CENS do not vary significantly with respect to educational qualifications of the teachers (we only found a different distribution in CENS D) and years of service. However, it is of some interest the differences between the teachers with teaching certificate (42) and the teachers with university diploma (25).

The work context of the teachers clearly indicates that time is a very limited resource for these teachers (the average number of hours which includes work at the CENS and other paid work is 32 per teacher weekly). This lack of time may well constrain teaching practices (preparation of classes, plans, readings).

5.1 Introduction

The focus of this chapter is the forms of transmission in the sampled CENS and its principles in order to study the regulations on teaching, its constraints, forms of control and tensions. As we presented in the methodological chapter we designed two different levels or sub-areas to be enquired: one which refers to what is taught and how, and (2) what regulates the teaching and how. We will be looking at the forms and orientations to meanings of the transmission of the set of schools we have selected, the pedagogic code, the relations between classification and framing and orientations to meanings.

As we said in the previous chapter, transmission has a privileged place in the language of the theory and in the tools (conceptual and methodological) developed by Bernstein in order to describe agencies of the field of symbolic control. The process of transmission and its principles, as well as what regulates the transmission and the forms of control over the transmission are key dimensions in developing a language capable to describe school organizations. Transmission is a key function of schools and it is the main process that occurs in them.

In the context of the theory, transmission has effects over the structure of the organization, i.e. the implications of the curriculum on the division of labour, as well as changes in pedagogy may imply changes in the social order. Transmission could be taken as one of the ways to access to the pedagogic discourse both the official pedagogic discourse and the pedagogic discourse realised at the level of the school; what counts as legitimate transmission, and which social order makes that transmission possible.

As a model for the description we considered what Bernstein (1973a; 228, 1977; 85) defined as the three message systems through which formal education knowledge is realized: curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation.

"Curriculum defines what counts as valid knowledge, pedagogy defines what counts as valid transmission of knowledge, and evaluation defines what counts as a valid realization of the knowledge on the part of the taught." (Bernstein, 1977; 85)

These three elements organise our exposition in this chapter. We shall present the results of document analysis, teachers and heads collected data for curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation. After that we will present the results of the student's questionnaires for all the dimensions in one single section in order to have a sense of their views as a category, without melting them with staff views. Finally, in the last section a discussion on results is developed.

5.2 Official curriculum and its CENS recontextualization

Firstly we present a general picture of the official curriculum for all the CENS. Then we will show findings on curriculum configuration at the level of the CENS.

The structure of the CENS curriculum can be described as having two main "areas" of knowledge: general area and specialisation area. The general area is composed by: Mathematics (during the three years of the course), Biology, Physics and Chemistry (one academic year each), History and Geography (during the three years), Civic Education, Psychology, Sociology and Health Education (one academic year each), Spanish and Universal Literature (during the three years). This general area consumes 60% of the time, while the specialisation area has specific subjects depending on the vocational orientation of the curriculum⁵⁴, which takes 40% of the curriculum. The distribution in the three years of the course is: in the first and second year of studies the specialisation area takes approximately 30% of the time and in the third year it takes more than the 50% of the time (we have already presented in the Chapter 4 how this vocational orientation is constructed).

⁵⁴ Except for English, the compulsory foreign language, which is common in all the curriculum orientations but has to be oriented to the vocational area of the curriculum.

General Education Field					
General Area	Subject	1st Year	2nd Year	3rd Year	Total time
Sciences	Mathematic	4 ⁵⁵	4	2	10
	Biology	2	-	-	2
	Health education	-	2	-	2
	Physics	-	2	-	2
	Chemistry	-	-	2	2
Social Sciences	History and Geography	4	3	3	10
	Civic Education	2	-	-	2
	Philosophy and Psychology	-	2	-	2
	Sociology	-	-	2	2
Communication	Spanish and Literature	5	4	-	9
	Literature	-	-	2	2
Vocational Education Field					
Specialisation Area	Subject	1st Year	2nd Year	3rd Year	Total time
	English	2	2	2	6
	Specific subjects	6	6	12	24

The specialization area subjects of each studied school are presented below:

CENS A Curriculum orientation in Accountancy

Subject	1st Year	2nd year	3rd year	Total
Techniques and Practice of Accountancy	6	6		12
Financial Mathematics	-	-	2	2
Political Economy	-	-	2	2
Civil and commercial law			2	2
Accountancy			6	6
Weekly modules	6	6	12	24

⁵⁵ The figures represent the number of modules per week that correspond to a subject. Each module is equivalent to 40 minutes.

CENS B Curriculum orientation in Social work

Subject	1st Year	2nd year	3rd year	Total
Social security	2			2
Techniques and Practice of Accountancy	4	4		8
Retirement regime I		2		2
Health system			2	2
Human relations			2	2
Social service			2	2
Law studies			2	2
Retirement regime II			4	4
Weekly modules	6	6	12	24

CENS C Curriculum orientation in Public administration

Subject	1st year	2nd year	3rd year	Total
Techniques and Practice of Accountancy	6	6	-	12
Financial Mathematics	-	-	2	2
Political Economy	-	-	2	2
Administrative law			2	2
Accountancy techniques and Public finances			2	2
Theory and practice of Organization			2	2
Public administration			2	2
Weekly modules	6	6	12	24

CENS D Curriculum orientation in Computing programming

Subject	1st year	2nd year	3rd year	Total
Organization and administration theory	2			2
Processing data system	2			2
Structure information	2			2
Accountancy and administrative procedure		1		1
Systems Design		1		1
Programming language I		2		2
System analysis and programming		2		2
Programming language II			3	3
Operative systems			3	3
Organization and control			1.5	1.5
Planning and control			1.5	1.5
Administrative management			3	3
Weekly modules	6	6	12	24

CENS E Curriculum orientation in Business administration

Subject	1st year	2nd year	3rd year	Total
Techniques and Practice of Accountancy	6	6		12
Financial Mathematics	-	-	2	2
Political Economy	-	-	2	2
Civil and commercial law			2	2
Business administration			6	6
Weekly modules	6	6	12	24

CENS F Curriculum orientation in Community Development

Subject	1st year	2nd year	3rd year	Total
Contemporary studies	4			4
Church social doctrine	2			2
Psychology			3	3
Philosophical problems			3	3
Theory of education		2		2
History of culture		2		2
Social work		2		2
Socio-cultural Planning and development			6	6
Weekly modules	6	6	12	24

CENS G Curriculum orientation in Telecommunication

Subject	1st year	2nd year	3rd year	Total
Basic telephony	2			2
Electricity and magnetism	4			4
Introduction to Electrical engineering		6		6
Intro. to Analog. and Dig. Techniques			6	6
Transmission systems			6	6
Weekly modules	6	6	12	24

The structure of the curriculum, at a first sight, is one of a very strong classification. Looking at the official syllabi, each subject has a clear bounded voice and there are no clues of cross themes or other strategies, which may show some movement to weaken the isolation between subjects. In terms of the formal regulation of the curriculum there is no room for exchange of voices amongst the subjects. In the official documents referring the curriculum, the syllabi and the selection of contents the only reference to the specificity of the plan in terms of an adult education program, is about “to offer a secondary level certificate with a vocational orientation of the curriculum, equivalent to the

regular secondary certificate, to improve adult population conditions towards the labour market” (Secretaría de Educación CBA, 1994).

In the official documents the reference to the adult as the subject of these particular schools is only present in the general aims and in a general characterisation of the target population. As we previously referred, these general aims refer “to improve the labour situation of the adult people and to open the access to further education” and “to prepare the workforce to the new technological and economical development that the country faces in the time to come.” The rationale for both aims is related with, following the text of the regulation, “the high levels of unemployment, the economic crisis and the development of new technologies”. The combination of those elements of the Argentinian reality “makes the secondary level certification a key element in order to improve the quality of life of adult population.” (Secretaría de Educación CBA, 1994)

The target population is defined as “every person over 18 years old without a secondary level certificate.” Other references of the adult condition are made in terms of the relation of the economically active population towards work. But, despite of the general definition of aims, most of the references in the curriculum documents and official syllabi are about its “equivalence” to the regular secondary school, and the legal value of the certificate towards further education.

The syllabi for each subject are clearly established by the State, in terms of the corpus of knowledge that must be delivered. Accompanying the distribution of time per subject the State provides a general list of contents for each syllabus. There is no reference to texts of any kind. The analysis of syllabi showed that there was no cross references between subject contents. Moreover, in those syllabi, which are named taking two disciplines, such as ‘History and Geography’, they have separated units of contents for each discipline. There is no cross themes or topics relating both disciplines. In those specialised subjects neither was found references between the contents of the different subjects.

No pedagogic guidelines were found in any of the official documents. However the students’ assessment is subject of explicit, but general and formal, regulation. The regulation about assessment only establishes a minimum of two written exams per term and

two more opportunities at the end of the academic year, for those who do not get the grades to be promoted to the next year course. If a student does not get a minimum average of 6 (in a 1 to 10 scale) in the exams s/he has to attend an extraordinary exam at the end of the academic year or at the beginning of the next academic year. These extraordinary exams are oral exams instead of written, as they are during the course, and the exams cover all the syllabus of the subject.

As we said before we were interested in the recontextualization of the curriculum in CENS, or in other terms how the official pedagogic discourse is realized in each school. We asked at the DEAyA the official plans for the specialization areas of the schools we sampled. Then we asked again the same documents to the heads of each school. There was no difference between both documents. We also ask to the heads the timetable for the course; here we found some discrepancies, which will be confirmed in the next section where we examine directors' views on curriculum. We found discrepancies in three CENS, D, E and G. In the timetable of CENS D we found subjects corresponding to the specialization area, which were not present in the official curriculum of the school. In the case of CENS E we identified a difference in the amount of time of some subjects with respect to the time established by the official plan. In CENS G the difference with the official documents was almost total, changes in names of subjects, more subjects than those defined by the State, and a significant difference in the distribution of time where the specialization area takes more than 50% of the total time of the curriculum, instead of the 40% officially established by the State.

As we shall show later in the analysis, in spite of the clear classification the official curriculum has between general and specialisation areas/discourses and between subjects we found variations amongst schools in the strength of this classification. In some schools we found tensions to weaken the classification between general and specialised area discourses.

We also are interested in the "bias" given to the curriculum and the forms of control over the construction of it, as a way of knowing the orientation to meanings of the code and the social basis over which the legitimate reproduced pedagogic discourse is constructed and

shaped. But for doing that it is necessary to describe the form the pedagogic discourse takes in each school and the values for internal classification and framing.

In the next sections we shall present issues concerning the actual curriculum construction in each school, the forms of realisation of the official curriculum, the role of heads concerning curriculum issues, the degree of autonomy of the teachers, the students' influence over the curriculum, towards getting an understanding of the criteria over which the legitimate knowledge is constructed and the principles of its transmission.

Firstly we shall present directors' views, then teachers' opinions (both from questionnaires and interviews) and finally students' answers to the questionnaires.

5.2.1 Directors' views on curriculum

We asked directors their opinion about the official curriculum. We obtained information not only about directors' opinion of the official curriculum but about the form of realisation of the official curriculum in each CENS. We combined the analysis of heads' opinion on the official curriculum with their view on the room of freedom they have to make changes on the CENS curriculum.

Only two directors (CENS A, administrative oriented and CENS F, oriented to social work) answered they were satisfied with the official curriculum⁵⁶; the other five heads said they are dissatisfied with the official curriculum.

Directors were asked specifically about freedom to make changes in the curriculum. All the directors answered that they have freedom to make changes. However there was a different degree of freedom directors reported. We categorised directors' perceptions about the degree of freedom in two categories: one "constrained freedom" which refers to the possibility to make changes in the subject contents but respecting the subjects and the official curriculum structure. The other category named "unconstrained freedom" refers to directors' perception of the possibility to make all the changes they consider is needed.

⁵⁶ It is important to say that in the case of CENS F the specialisation area was designed by the CENS time ago since it was the first one with the curriculum orientation in "Community development".

We initially coded under “constrained freedom” the responses of three directors (A, C, F). CENS A director summarised the opinion of this group: “Within the official curriculum and syllabi the Secretary (of Education) give us the possibility to add or to remove whatever content we consider is necessary to be changed.” This statement of “constrained freedom”, shared by the three directors, has an additional feature: the fact that the freedom is “given” by the State, there seems to be a ‘legitimate’ room for directors to make changes within certain limits. Two out of the three CENS directors (A and F) who gave responses categorised as “constrained freedom” said before that they were satisfied with the curriculum.

Two directors (CENS B, social work and CENS C, administrative) answered they are dissatisfied with the official curriculum because “it is overloaded” and there are subjects that have “overlapped contents”. Both directors sustained that it is not possible to change the curriculum but CENS B director said she maintains ‘the titles’ of the contents and she inserts new contents in order to update the syllabi contents. In the analysis of the official syllabi we did not find the mentioned overlapping and in the case of the syllabi collected at the CENS B we neither confirmed the changes that the head have mentioned.

Four directors’ responses (CENS B, D, E, and G) were, firstly, coded as “unconstrained freedom”. These directors sustained that they might make any changes they considered necessary to be done in the school. In this case directors stated that freedom is subject to be “taken”. One of the directors said: “Here you make your own freedom, nobody gives anything for free. We took all the freedom.”

Although CENS B directress responded, when questioned about freedom, that CENS heads take the freedom and do whatever they consider proper to be done, her answers about actual changes were in the same sense than CENS C director⁵⁷. We finally categorised CENS B in the “constrained freedom” group.

⁵⁷ They both said that they were dissatisfied with the official curriculum but it is impossible to be changed.

CENS D, E and G directors, who gave “unconstrained freedom” responses, are the same three who have made changes in the curricula of their respective CENS, they give similar responses but with variations.

These three directors answered they have made changes in the curriculum. However there is a different degree and type of the changes the three CENS made. CENS E (administrative oriented) changed the distribution of time of some of general subjects; he considered the specialisation subjects were valid as they were. However CENS E did not change the distribution of time between general and specialization areas CENS D (technical oriented in software programming) completely changed the specialisation area (all the subjects and the contents from the official curriculum) and some contents of general area subjects. The contents of the general area were changed in order to relate them to the curriculum orientation. The specialisation subjects were modified in two senses: first they changed the outcome profile of the school to a “real one”, instead of training a software programmer they train now an assistant software programmer (the director considered that “It is impossible to train a software programmer in a secondary school. That is a function of a higher education institution”); second, they updated all the contents “considering the current products and procedures used in the market”. CENS G (technical oriented in telecommunications) changed the whole curriculum. They changed both subjects of the general and of the specialisation area. They redesigned the curriculum even moving subjects, which were traditionally general area subjects to the specialisation area (e.g. mathematics). The director said they changed the name of the areas that were turned into Social Sciences Area and Technical Area. They eliminated some subjects (e.g. chemistry), introduced some (e.g. labour law) and changed some subjects (e.g. “Health education” into “Health and labour conditions”).

From this it could be said that the text of the official curriculum is not necessarily respected by all the schools, or we can say that the proper curriculum plan is subject of recontextualization by both groups of heads, but in different degree or, even more, in different quality as far as some of them change the proper structure of the curriculum (subjects, time distribution) and others only change contents of the official curriculum. We also found, as it was clear in the changes made by some schools, tensions to weaken the strong classification between the two areas of knowledge. This will be en-

riched, in the paragraphs to follow, by the reading of the results on emphasis of each school curriculum.

In a first approach the room for freedom seems to have an internal source for its regulation rather than from State, because as we shall see later the incidence of supervision by the State or other State agencies is low or rather inexistent. But it has still to be considered the role of the CI, as an external regulator of the recontextualization.

Now we shall add the collected information in relation with the CI involvement in the control over the curriculum, from the only three CI representatives who were contacted (as we introduced in Chapter 3, these were CENS E army veterans' civil association, CENS F catholic church bishopric and CENS G workers trade union, pro government). The only CI representative who acknowledged having some influence over both the curriculum orientation, its design and some influence on the teaching contents, specifically over the specialization area subjects) was CENS G CI representative. CENS E representative said that the CI was involved in the definition of the curriculum orientation but not in its design. He also added they would like to have more influence on some subjects such as History. From these three responses we can only say that CENS E and G have some external regulation from the CI, but as we do not have other representatives' opinion we shall complete the analysis on external regulation from the CI in the next chapter where we present the external relationships.

We asked directors what they considered is the emphasis they give to the curriculum if any. The question intended to obtain information about the role and weight that the CENS curriculum orientation plays in the CENS transmission practices. We expect this information to help us to elucidate the emphasis CENS may give to the construction of students' identities (*general social skills for life, academic or vocational*, see next chapter).⁵⁸

⁵⁸ From the pilot we made before starting the main study, we knew that we must ask this question in an abstract form, without making any explicit mention of the curriculum orientation, neither mentioning the specialisation subjects area. We realised that some interviewees considered the curriculum orientation because we mentioned it in the question. We were biasing the responses. When we tested the question without mentioning the curriculum orientation we obtained a grater variation of responses.

CENS B and C heads do not recognise any emphasis. Both directors sustained that there is no general emphasis of the curriculum, if there were some it was given in each subject separately. CENS B directress added that she tries to give “more weight” to the specialisation, “each subject should have a content of the orientation”, but she said it was not achieved because “teachers are reluctant to accept it”.

Two directors (CENS A and E, both administrative oriented) answered that the emphasis is given upon, what they called, “general education”. Both directors used the same expression to characterise “general education”: “general knowledge that students can feel it is useful for their life”. CENS E director went further on his answer saying: “We have to give general formation to the students in order to give them the possibility to get any job. At least to improve their basic skills for life.” CENS F (social work oriented, catholic church bishopric CI) director also answered that the emphasis was on general education but with a different bias. He said that the effort the school does is in order to transmit the students a “sense of community and to understand the human kind as a unit in spirit.”

Only two directors (CENS D and G, both technical) answered that the CENS have a strong emphasis on the curriculum orientation and that the specialisation area “rules” the transmission in the school. For both directors it is important to prepare the students for work. This is realised through both subjects’ areas (general and specialised) but the main axe of the education they deliver is given by the vocational orientation and the general area “sustains” the specialisation area. CENS D director said: “We try to give them all the tools to get a job or to have a better performance in the job they already have”. CENS G director said: “In the non technical subjects (i.e. Labour law, Health and labour conditions) we reflect the problematic that has a telecommunication worker.”

With the same aim of the former question (about curriculum emphasis) but trying to obtain in depth specific information about the function of the curriculum orientation over the contents to be transmitted in the CENS, we asked directors: “How far does the specialisation area ‘influence’ the general area?”. Directors’ responses not only gave us information about the relations and tensions between general and specialisation dis-

courses but they also gave some information concerning the realizations of the social relationships between the teachers of both areas⁵⁹.

We obtained different kind of responses however we grouped the directors according to their answers into two main groups: one group constituted by those who answered that there is no influence of the specialisation area over the general area and another group constituted by those who answered that there is some influence of the specialisation area over the general area. In the first group of directors (no influence) we found CENS A, B, C and F. In the second group (influence) we found directors from CENS D, E and G.

We summarised heads responses on curriculum in the table below:

Table 5.1: Summary of directors' responses on curriculum

CENS	Satisfaction on official curriculum		Freedom for change ⁶⁰		Change syllabus		Change syllabus content		Change time distribution	Curriculum Bias to			Influence of Spec. on General	
	Yes	No	CF	UcF	Gen	Spec	Gen	Spec		Gen	Spec	None	Yes	None
A	X		X							X				X
B		X	X ⁶¹									X		X
C		X	X									X		X
D		X		X		X	X	X			X		X	
E		X		X			X	X	X	X			X	
F	X		X									X		X
G		X		X	X	X	X	X	X		X		X	

⁵⁹ In another question we specifically ask about relations between teachers. We shall inform about it later on chapter seven.

⁶⁰ CF: Constrained Freedom; UcF: Unconstrained Freedom.

⁶¹ Although, the response to the specific question about freedom on curriculum this directress answered that, in general, heads do have freedom, we categorized her in relation with other responses which were reported previously in the sense that she cannot make changes.

As we can see in the Table 5.1 heads' satisfaction is not an index of curriculum change at the school level. Despite four out of the seven heads said that in their schools they have made changes in the contents of the syllabus, only three directors (D, E, G) made main changes. One only changed syllabus, one changed some of the general area time distribution and the other changed the whole curriculum. Finally as we said before D, E and G directors acknowledged that the specialization area influences the general area content.

5.2.2 Teachers' views on transmitted contents

We inquired teachers about how the contents of the transmission are selected, how teachers and the CENS as a whole decide about contents. We asked teachers about the CENS curriculum and about their own subject.

In the interview there was a brief introduction explaining to the teachers we were interested in their views about the curriculum of the school and how it is worked out in the CENS⁶². After this introduction we asked two specific questions⁶³:

“26. What do you think about the range of subjects?”

27. What about the distribution of time to the various subjects?”

The first finding is that the majority of the teachers maintained that the time was insufficient to cover all the contents they had to teach, a teacher's answer summarise the general opinion: “we have three years to do what it usually takes five in the common secondary school”. Here we may think that for these teachers there is not a specific criterion in the construction of the CENS curriculum as an adult education institution, differentiated of the regular secondary school for adolescents. The reference to the regular secondary school done by the teachers and the absence of specific references in official curriculum plans and syllabi may be understood as an external regulation of the CENS curriculum by the general curriculum criteria of secondary schools, considered as official pedagogic discourse.

⁶² The results of the pilot of the teachers' interview oriented us to specific questions about the curriculum. General questions such as “What do you think about the curriculum of the CENS?” were too vague for the teachers.

⁶³ We analysed the answers to both questions together as the responses were closed connected

When we look at the distribution of responses of the interviewed teachers by the subject area they teach it brings up some issues. It was only the general subject teachers who complained about the distribution of time between subjects. Some of them said that the specialisation subjects had more time than they needed. One of the main arguments is that although the CENS is a secondary school with a vocational orientation the certificate is a secondary level certificate and not a vocational one; and therefore the core of the teaching should be in the general subject areas.

We should note here that it was only teachers of the general subject area (five out of the twelve) who answered that they do not know the curriculum of the CENS and hence could not give an opinion. At the other extreme four out of the seven-specialisation area teachers answered that they participated in the construction of the curriculum, particularly in the design of the specialisation subjects, and therefore they were quite satisfied with the distribution of time. It is a matter of interest that no general subject teacher reported participating in the construction of the curriculum.

It is clear that there are tensions between general and specialized areas in terms of the discourses and in terms of the agents. In this case the voice of the general area teachers produces messages trying to reinforce the general education orientation of the transmission at CENS instead of a vocational orientation (there will be a step forward of this analysis in the chapter on identities). When we look at the teachers' questionnaire we confirm the finding. In the question related to satisfaction and change of the subjects taught and subject contents general area teachers are relatively speaking the most dissatisfied and those who ask most for a change.

As it was done in the case of the directors we inquired about the ways of constructing the legitimate knowledge to be transmitted in terms of external and internal control over the selection of contents of the curriculum. Teachers were questioned about their own syllabi:

“25. Are you satisfied with the official syllabus of your subject?

25.1 If NO, what would you like to change?”

There is a consensus among the interviewees that the official syllabi are old, outdated, and overloaded of contents in relation to the available time for teaching. Only one teacher said she was happy with the syllabus she received from the State. However, five teachers answered that they made their own syllabus (4 of them are specialised teachers, the same teachers who said that they participated in the curriculum design - see above). Four teachers (three of them general subject area teachers) answered that the syllabi are old but they do not pay attention to the official syllabi. One teacher even answered “I don’t care, I do what I want, what I think is right”. These four teachers maintained that official syllabi are too general and abstract, “a collection of big titles”.

The answers to the question about changes in the syllabi are highly consistent with the results presented above. Those teachers who prepared the syllabi themselves and those teachers who answered that they teach what they think is right despite the official syllabi answered that they do not want any specific change. The other 10 teachers answered that they would make the syllabi shorter and they would update the contents.

In the distribution of answers by CENS we found that there are two CENS, D and G (both with union CI and both with a technical curriculum orientation), where all the teachers answered that they either made their own syllabi or they teach what they think is appropriate (three general teachers and three specialisation teachers).

At the same time, in the questionnaire teachers refer having a large room for discretion in relation with teaching and evaluating contents, pedagogy and forms of assessment:

Table 5.2: Distribution of responses about autonomy

	Large	Some	Little	None
Teaching Content	64	3	-	-
Teaching practice	65	1	1	-
Content of assessment	63	4	-	-
Forms of assessment	58	8	1	-

However, when in the interview we asked teachers on how they construct their own actual syllabi we find valuable information that gives us a context to the responses given in the questionnaires. We particularly oriented these questions towards information about the sources that teachers use and how they do it.

Firstly we asked teachers for a description of how they select and organise (time) contents and activities. All the answers were acquirer centred, for example the background knowledge of students or their rhythm of learning. There was one phrase that we repeatedly found: “we have to wait and explain until students understand content, the adult condition of our students is our reference to prepare the teaching”. It is worth emphasising here that there was no reference to textbooks or any other academic or pedagogic source.

Only five teachers (four specialised teachers) referred that they designed their own syllabus. These five teachers are the same who gave similar answers to the question on the construction of the curriculum. They belong to two CENS, D and G.

Teachers were asked if they discuss the contents and forms of approaching their subject with other people. As we can see below, in the table 5.3, we categorised the responses in two first level options: **yes** and **no**. The option **yes** has four categories: director, teachers of their subject area, teachers from other CENS and former teacher. Each of these four categories may assume a strong (+) or a weak (-) emphasis in terms of the importance teachers gave to discussion about the subject with any of the others mentioned in the network.

12 out of the 19 teachers said that they have consulted with some people about their subject. All the teachers who answered positively said that they discuss with the director, 9 out of the 12 responses have a strong emphasis. Five teachers said that they discussed with teachers of their area, four with strong emphasis. Two teachers replied they consulted with teachers of other CENS and only one response fall in the category former teacher, with a weak emphasis.

The only difference we found in the distribution of entries by subject area is that four out of the five teachers who responded they discuss the syllabus with colleagues are specialisation teachers. It seems that the general subject teachers work in more isolation from each other than the specialisation teachers. The distribution of entries by CENS is of some interest; in the table below we show the results by CENS:

Table 5.3: Responses discussion about subject by CENS

CENS	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	Total
Interviewed teachers	3	2	3	3	3	2	3	19
NO	3	1	3					7
YES		1		3	3	2	3	12
Director (+)				3	3		3	9
(-)		1				2		3
Teachers of their area (+)				2			2	4
(-)				1				1
Teachers of other schools (+)		1		1				2
(-)								
Former teacher (+)								
(-)		1						1

As we can see in the table 5.3 the 9 teachers who answered that they discussed with the director (strong emphasis) belong to CENS D (technical curriculum, union CI), E (administrative curriculum, civil association CI) and G (technical curriculum, union CI). The two teachers of CENS F (social work curriculum, catholic church CI) gave weak emphasis (relevance) to their responses of discussing the subject with the director. At the other extreme we found that all interviewed in CENS A (administrative curriculum, union CI) and C (administrative curriculum, State CI) do not discuss their syllabi with anyone. The four specialization teachers who gave a strong emphasis about discussing with their colleagues belong to CENS D and G. In general CENS A, B, C, F teachers have little contact with others in the construction of their syllabi.

In order to check and to have information to be crossed amongst the different participants we asked directors: In this CENS to what extent the teacher have freedom to decide about contents pedagogy and forms of assessment?

In reference to freedom on the definition of teaching contents A, B, C and F answered that teachers have total freedom to select the content they deliver. A referred that “teachers are free to teach but regarding the basis of the official syllabus”, he is not directly giving guidelines. However the other three directors D, E and G responded that teachers are free to deliver their subjects but they have some constraints, which were differently defined. E said “They got the freedom my authority gives to them (laugh)”. G said “I don’t select contents but I give the criteria for prioritising contents I want in the school”, he particularly recognised that teacher of social sciences area suffer more of his control because of his own professional orientation. Finally D put the constraints on the agreement that all the staff has to make about contents in the context that he set to do so.

With respect to pedagogy all the interviewees said that teachers have all the freedom, in directors statements about this freedom is possible to identify similar criteria they used for contents, however when directors where questioned about guidelines they give to teachers some new information appeared. This last data and statements in reference to assessment will be presented later on this chapter.

45% (30) of the teachers out of the 67 who answered the questionnaire said that the subject contents should be changed and 12 out of the 30 said that they consider either difficult or very difficult to make changes in that area. Considering the high level of freedom teachers generally perceive they have over the teaching content it is a disturbing finding. We contrasted these results with the analysis of the syllabi, which show that, in general, there is no significant distance between the official syllabi and those used at the CENS. It is, also, interesting that there is no much difference amongst the syllabi from different CENS; we would say that the main feature is its similarity.

We presented the results to teachers in the focus groups and we ask them why they think that teachers apparently being highly dissatisfied with teaching contents and having freedom to make changes they do not change their own syllabi. Some of them said

that they do have neither the time nor the knowledge to make the changes they would like to do. From this, the regulation over the teaching could be understood through the teachers' labour conditions and their own teaching training or availability of symbolic resources.

5.2.3 Summary on curriculum transmission (Official and school documents, heads and teachers)

From the data reported above we can start drawing an initial draft about the configuration of the curriculum and control over it. We can make a first step in describing the pedagogic code. Furthermore, we have already found some variations and we have also found a first grouping of schools.

In a first view, particularly of the official documents, we can say that the curriculum structure is one of a very strong classification both between the two discursive areas (general and specialized) and between the subjects in general. The strength of classification is not the same when we look at the curriculum realized in each CENS, and tensions to weaken the original official curriculum classification were found. Two clearly differentiated groups of CENS came out considering the strength of classification between general and specialized areas. A group with a strong classification: A, B, C and F. Another with a weaker classification: D, E and G. However it is possible to identify variations within the two groups:

Classification (internal) between general and specialization subject areas⁶⁴:

Strength	++	+	-	--
CENS	A C F	B	E	DG

The same grouping of CENS came out considering the emphasis given to general education or to the vocational orientation of the curriculum. Here it is possible to say that there is a relation between strength of classification and the emphasis in the transmission. In reference to curriculum emphasis we also found that it is an element of CENS recontextualization. In the official documents, considering particularly the general aims

⁶⁴ We will be using a four-point scale for strength of classification and framing. (++) Very strong, (+) strong, (-), weak, (--) very weak.

of the CENS, the emphasis is related to improve the work condition of the adult population. That is why the curriculum of CENS was designed with a vocational orientation. However more information is needed to complete the analysis. This will be discussed after we present information on social relations and pedagogic identities.

In terms of challenges to classification principles, tensions between general and specialization subject teachers were found. Only general subject teachers complained about the distribution of time between areas. Also general area teachers are relatively speaking the most dissatisfied and those who ask most for a change when asked about the range of subject taught and subject syllabi.

In general terms there does not seem to be a direct external control from the State over the curriculum realization. However a regulation from the State came out, in terms of pedagogic discourse (particularly referred to instructional discourse here). In all the responses there were references to the official curriculum and syllabi, both accepting or not, as a constraint. The reference to the regular secondary school curriculum done by the teachers and the references to the equivalence of CENS knowledge and certification in official curriculum plans and syllabi may be understood as an external regulation over the CENS curriculum by the general curriculum criteria of secondary schools, which we start to consider a matter of the Official Pedagogic Discourse.

However the curriculum realized in each school has differences, which can be translated in terms of strength of the external (State) framing over the curriculum. Some similar situation we found in terms of the external (State) regulation over the syllabi, for both heads and teachers positions. However all the interviewees stated making changes in the syllabi; yet when we looked into the syllabi in each CENS we did not find significant changes in all the cases.

External (State) regulation over Curriculum and syllabi.

	++	+	-	--
Curriculum	A B C F		E	D G
Syllabi		A B C F	E	D G

From other point of view we can say that CENS D, E, G have made changes (in different degree) from what is established by the official regulations, whereas curricula and syllabi of CENS A, B, C, F are closer to the official regulations.

Another external element appeared regulating the instructional discourse at the level of CENS (with different degree), which is a time constraint over the teachers who would like to make changes in their subject. Also we found teachers reporting a lack of knowledge needed to make changes in the syllabi. We associate that to teachers' labour conditions. Despite the fact that most of the teachers reported this kind of external constraint, the final distribution by CENS is the same of that presented before on external (State) framing.

At this point we are not in position to explain whether the differences we found have internal or external sources. We will have the complete picture in the chapters to follow.

From the point of view of the internal framing over the syllabi construction we also have differences among the sampled schools. In the distribution of answers by CENS we found that there are two CENS, D and G (both with union CI and both with a technical curriculum orientation), where all the teachers answered that they either made their own syllabi or they teach what they think is appropriate (three general teachers and three specialisation teachers). However, when we consider control from the heads to the teachers' selection of contents we have to add that CENS D, E and G are those with a stronger framing over selection than the other four CENS.

5.3 Pedagogy

Our interest here is to describe the principles underlying the legitimate forms of transmission, and the forms and principles of control over the pedagogic relation. We will not describe the proper pedagogic practice, as no observations were made, however we were capable of eliciting the underlying principles which allow us to continue in the job of describing the pedagogic code. We should note here that our main concern is to describe the code at the organizational school level.

Also from the data we shall present here we are going to add information about the configuration of the orientation to meanings of the realization of the codes modality in each school.

5.3.1 Directors' views on pedagogy

In the interviews with directors we were interested in the pedagogic guidelines they may give to the teachers. The question on guidelines had the aim to obtain information about criteria of transmission practices in the school and as an additional element, which allowed us to elucidate directors' instructional theories. Firstly we asked whether directors give any guidelines to the teachers. Secondly we asked what those guidelines were about. Other factor that may intervene in the construction of a set of pedagogic criteria for the teaching in CENS is the proper selection of the teachers.

All the directors answered that they give teachers clear guidelines about how to teach in their CENS. This result becomes very interesting when it is compared to the teachers' responses to the question about directors' guidelines made in teachers' interview. Only teachers from three CENS (D, E and G) answered that they received guidelines from their directors. The other teachers answered that there is no guideline about teaching in their CENS (A, B, C and F). We shall try to understand this lack of consistency between directors' and teachers' responses about guidelines in later discussions.

Returning to directors' responses, the guidelines vary in each CENS however we found two common features: one referred to the consideration of the "adult condition" of the CENS students; the other aspect referred to students' assessment.

Directors gave similar opinions with respect to the first aspect concerning the consideration of the students as 'adults'. One director's statement summarises the general opinion: "The main guideline is that teachers have to understand the adult students. Adult students have other activities besides school study; they worry about other things – money problems, familial problems. If someone has a problem in the job he or she will be upset and it will be reflected in the school."

This stance towards the students entails some pedagogic consequences. One of the consequences most found amongst directors' responses referred to the "respect of students' pace of learning" which was directly related to the need of "repeat(ing) the teaching of a content as much as students need to understand the subject." The same opinion about considering the adult condition of the students was found in the teachers' interview, in which all the teachers coincided that "working with adults means to adjust the pacing of teaching to suit the students". This finding is directly related with a tension to weaken the framing in the pace factor, which turns in a key feature of the pedagogic practice and the room teachers seem to give to students in controlling the time acquisition rate. At the same time this has to be considered as a main source in the comprehension of the pedagogic discourse regulating and legitimating pedagogic practices.

As we said above the second aspect, which was present in all directors' responses, referred to students' assessment. In this case we found that the guidelines about assessment vary between directors.

Four directors (A, B, C and F) referred about the standards criteria of the students' assessment. Two of these four directors (C and F) stated that they ask teachers to be more "strict", more demanding, when teachers assess students. Two directors (A and C) raised the issue of the frequency of exams. Both directors said that they ask teachers for a minimum of two written exams per term. Both directors gave the same reason to support their position: this is necessary in order to have 'objective' marks, which "help teachers to respond students' complaints".

Four directors (C, D, E and G) stated that they demand their staff to be explicit about what they expect from students in the examinations. One director summarises this opinion: "Teachers should give clear rules about evaluation. The students should previously know 'the what' and 'the how' and the expected standard of the examinations." This is a clear indication of the orientation to a visible pedagogy (Bernstein, 1977, 1990) in as much they try to make explicit the criteria of the legitimate text to be produced by the students.

CENS G director added a consideration about assessment that differentiates him from the rest of the interviewees. He added that in his CENS evaluation is considered “not a form of punishment but an additional way of teaching. Here if a student fails in an examination, teachers must give as many opportunities as the student needs until he or she knows the theme.”

Other guidelines referred to the treatment of subjects’ syllabi and contents. CENS E and G directors said that they “strongly suggest” teachers to select contents which “should be concrete useful knowledge, directly related to students’ reality.”

CENS E director added that he controls the contents teachers select to teach through asking for teaching plans per term, which must specify the contents to be taught week by week. He added that he considered that “a given class group should make teachers change their plan, it should not be standardised”; therefore he asks teachers to change the plan every year. In a similar control orientation CENS F director asks his staff to prepare written material for the students “...this helps to have less chatting and more learning, it is also a way I have to know what teachers do inside the classroom.” We would like to note that we could not get access to this written material and neither teachers nor students refer working with any kind of material.

Director of CENS C commented on an aspect we may call regulative dispositional. He said that “it is very important that the staff respects punctuality, attendance and dress properly in order to demand the same to the students, which is an important element of the education we give students.” At other extreme CENS D director stressed that he expects teachers “to be engaged to the school, I expect commitment and I do not pay attention to teachers’ punctuality or dressing.”

5.3.2 Teachers’ views on pedagogy

In the teachers questionnaire we find that most of the contacted teachers responded they had large amount of discretion in matters related to pedagogy, content selection and assessment. At the same time that we obtained the data mentioned above, in the

interview more than half of the contacted teachers (10 out of 19) responded that there are no common guidelines in the CENS about the teaching practice.⁶⁵

In the group of teachers who answered that they do not have any guidelines we found that the majority of them considered that there was a tacit agreement amongst teachers who work in adult education: working with adults means to adjust the pacing of teaching to suit the students pacing of learning. In a way this allows understanding that there is even a contradiction between these teachers' responses about not having guidelines and their heads stating they establish pedagogic guidelines, one of the two topics referred by heads (pace) is present in teachers' statements.

It is important to say that the nine teachers who responded that they have common guidelines belong to three CENS: D, E and G. The guidelines of these three CENS are different and the source of the guidelines assumes different forms. The only element, which they have in common with the rest of teachers' responses, is about an explicit agreement about respecting students' pace.

In CENS D the guidelines refer to pedagogic aspects such as defining the teaching strategy for specific groups (to work in small groups or with the whole class or individually) as well as how to address specific problematic cases. The sources of these guidelines are the staff meetings and the agreement of staff. In CENS E only the director generates the guidelines and they cover all kind of aspects: contents, pedagogy, evaluation and the type of social relation teachers should have with students. In CENS G both the director and the staff meetings generate the guidelines. Teachers of CENS G specifically said that there are clear guidelines about pedagogy and forms of assessment, which is consistent with this CENS director on this issue.

⁶⁵ The first series of question was related to guidelines in the CENS about the teaching practice:

19. Are there any guidelines about your teaching in this school?
20. What are they?
21. How detailed?
22. How useful?
23. Who made them?

We also addressed issues about constraints teachers feel about their forms of teaching. Eight out of the 18 teachers answered that they do not feel any constraint on their teaching practice. The distributions by subject area of the teachers or by CENS do not reveal any important difference. The responses given by the other 10 teachers (six general teachers and 4 specialisation teachers) were mainly related to material resources (time and teaching resources). There were no direct references either to internal or external sources of constraints.

We asked teachers two more questions: “What would make your teaching easier?” and “What creates difficulty in your work in your CENS?” Teachers gave the same type of responses to both questions saying that what would make their job easier is the absence of what makes it difficult. We analysed the answers to both questions together. Six teachers said that the difficulty they have is their relation with the director. These same six teachers gave answers which refer to director’s guidelines about what are a teachers’ “proper” behaviour, appearance, and forms of communication to students. This group of teachers belongs to CENS A, B, C and F. Four different teachers from those four CENS (A, B, C and F), one from each one CENS, gave answers that we categorised related to students’ morality, referring students being rough or uncivilised.

All the teachers gave responses referring lack of material resources. However it is interesting that all the teachers from D, E and G gave only answers related to material resources without giving other kind of response. On the other hand, there is a group of teachers from four specific CENS (A, B, C and F) who are not satisfied with the relation they have with their directors, and they identified this relation as a difficulty, which affects their teaching.

In order to check the teachers’ answers about constraints on teaching we asked teachers how would they like to teach if they had an ideal situation. All the teachers said that they would not change their form of teaching, their pedagogy. We believe that this result confirms the findings on constraints. If teachers are satisfied with their own pedagogy, and have no desire to change even if they have an ideal situation, it is very clear that they do not feel subject to strong constraints.

With respect to teachers own pedagogy the questionnaire had two open ended questions (numbers 7 and 8) inquiring about what literature had been important for their teaching practice. The first question referred to contents of teaching and the other referred to teachers' pedagogy.

The answers to the question about literature related to contents were categorised in three groups: scientific texts, textbooks for students and textbooks for teachers. The distribution of answers is as follows:

Table 5.4: Responses on literature about teaching contents

None	15	22%
Scientific texts	21	32%
Handbook for students	13	19%
Handbook for teachers	18	27%
Total	67	100%

The group of teachers who answered “scientific texts” has some interesting characteristics. 14 out of the 21 teachers who answered this category are male teachers (22 male teachers in the sample). At the same time, 14 (males and females) out of the 21 are teachers of the “general humanistic” subject-area. Relatively speaking teachers with university diploma gave more answers to this category than those who have a teaching certificate (10 out of the 25 with university diploma and 10 out of the 42 with teaching certificate). Finally we found that in CENS G -a technical CENS-, 9 out of the 11 teachers answered that scientific texts were influential for them. 6 out of the 15 teachers who answered “none” with respect to the contents taught in their subjects are teachers of the specialised not humanistic subject-area.

The answers to the question related to whether there were authors or books that were important for their pedagogy have the following distribution:

Table 5.5: Responses on literature about pedagogy

None	52	78%
Specific texts on pedagogy	15	22%
Total	67	100%

There are no common features among the 15 teachers who answered that they use some specific texts on pedagogy. But when we asked the teachers whether they had a person as a model of teacher and why, 85% of the teachers answered that they were impressed by the pedagogy of this “model teacher” mainly because of the clarity of teaching.

It could be said that there seems to be a weak pedagogic background in terms of the knowledge on literature. This leads us to think that the instructional theory of teachers is rather constructed upon their experience as students and in the process of construction of their own work as teachers.

In the interviews we asked them about the aims of their teaching and about their teaching strategies. For the analyses of the question “What would you say are the general aims of your teaching?”. We constructed a network, which gives as a result a clear emphasis over instructional aspects, rather than regulative, especially teachers responded that basic and cognitive skills are the focus of their teaching. It appears that the teaching aims are focused on a type of general education rather than oriented to vocational education (except in CENS G).

These results lead us to think, as we shall see in the next chapter, that most of the teachers see the CENS as a repair system for secondary education. The aim of teaching vocational education to the students is rather weakly emphasised. If we take students responses on what they get mostly out, which we will report below on this chapter, we can in general confirm this finding on an emphasis on general education.

Also we asked teachers about teaching strategies, 11 out of the 19 teachers responded that they vary the teachings strategies particularly taking in to account some features of the group of students. The main feature teachers say that they pay attention is a combination of information background and pace. However it should be said that the variation of strategies is quite limited and they are the same reported by those teachers that answered that they do not change their way of teaching. The range of strategies goes from traditional lectures to small group work or some individual work using textbooks. It has to be stressed that all the teaching strategies gathered from teachers' responses are group based and simultaneous teaching. This means that in terms of the pace, the main pedagogic criteria stated by both heads and teachers, is understood for the class group and not upon an individual base. This was discussed with teachers and heads in the focus groups we made. The main argument was that there is neither time nor pedagogic knowledge available for working with each individual student rhythm.

The only important difference we found in the distribution of answers by CENS is that teachers from CENS D and G (both with a technical oriented curriculum) reported they use laboratories for the specialisation subjects.

As there are no textbooks, the transmission is mainly oral and depend on the teachers' recontextualizing, and as there is no external control of examination the only control is that one of by director. Thus the teachers are apparently free of direct external control over their practices and subject only to the direct control of the director. But a general lack of time, their own conditions in terms of the knowledge of the subject they teach, their own teaching training apparently restrict potential variations between teachers in their practice and their teaching may well consist of well established routines.

Teachers' intake

In this section we will be considering teachers' intake as part of the analysis of pedagogy in CENS. Intake can be seen, in a first view, as part of our dimension on social relations, and it will be considered again in that chapter, but we think that the way teachers are selected and the underlying criteria gives us a sense of the constitution of the staff from where we may elicit some principles which operate in the configuration of the pedagogic discourse and the realization of the code. The intake of teachers will give

us an idea about what the heads are privileging, in this sense intake is considered as a regulation over pedagogy, and it will contribute to describe and understand the pedagogic code and its realization.

There is not a well-structured formal procedure for appointing teachers to the CENS; the procedure is thus more informal than formal. We will look initially at the various forms of informality leading to appointment. This information was given to us in the teachers' questionnaire in response to the question about how they were appointed to the school. This was an open question. We obtained eight different forms of appointment; the frequencies for each one are as follows:

Table 5.6: Type of appointment

a) knowing the current director	23	(34%)
b) knowing the former teacher of the subject	4	(6%)
c) knowing other teacher of the school	12	(18%)
d) through the CI	8	(12%)
e) presenting a CV	5	(7%)
f) through the former director	7	(11%)
g) through a teacher or a director of another CENS	6	(9%)
i) replacing a teacher (administrative)	2	(3%)
Total	67	(100%)

We re-categorised this eight forms of informal appointment into two general categories:

- i. internal: refers to appointment through the director or other staff of the school⁶⁶, and
- ii. external: refers to teachers who were appointed presenting CV, through the former director and through a teacher or a director from other CENS.

The figures now are as follows:

Internal	47	72%
External	20	18%

⁶⁶We include this category, "through the CI", under the group of internal, because when teachers reported themselves entering to the CENS in that way the directors participated directly in the selection.

If we examine the distribution of teachers according to internal/external by CENS we found that three CENS (D, E and G) have 62% (29/47) of the teachers under the category “internal”. These 29 teachers represent 91% (29/32) of the teachers of these three CENS. Whereas the other four CENS have 51% (18/35) teachers under the category ‘internal’ and 49% under the category ‘external’.

Table 5.7: Informal forms of teachers’ appointment by CENS

	Internal	External	Total
CENS A	2	3	5
CENS B	7	7	14
CENS C	6	3	9
CENS D	11	2	13
CENS E	7	1	8
CENS F	3	4	7
CENS G	11	0	11
Total	47	20	67

Directors’ responses to the question about teachers’ intake were grouped into two sets: Heads of CENS A, B and F answered that they cannot select their teachers but they would like to. The other four directors (C, D, E and G) responded they have selected almost 100% of the teachers.

We asked to those directors who have selected the teachers which criteria they used and, to those who have not selected teachers, what criteria would use in case they could control the teachers intake.⁶⁷

All the directors state that a fundamental criterion is that teachers must have experience working with adult people, which means that they know about the rhythm and characteristics of adult learning and they are sensitive to adult context for studying (referring to

⁶⁷ The regulation establishes that it is the State through the Secretary of education who has both the responsibility and the power to appoint teachers, however the particularities of CENS give them some room (a gap) in the regulation so some directors use it.

work and familial contexts). Also all of them agreed saying that they select, or would select, only those teachers who they know personally or through some other one who is reliable for the head. Connected with this, directors expect commitment not only with the school but loyalty to the director her/himself. These last criteria will be specifically treated and analysed in the next chapter on social relationships.

Despite these common elements we found some differences amongst directors' criteria. CENS C and F stated that issues like attendance, punctuality, and respect for rules are, as CENS C said, "crucial features of a teacher to work in this CENS". CENS D and G (both technical oriented) directors preferred teachers with university degrees or, in the case of the specialisation area, people who are currently working on the area. The criterion for these two heads is that teachers should be employed professionals, currently in the work field linked to the specialisation area.

With respect to criteria directors would deploy to select teachers B, C, E, F give priority to the methodology over the knowledge of the specific teaching subject a particular teacher may have. It is remarkable in a sense that CENS A director rather prefers not to participate in the selection of teachers.

5.3.3 Summary on pedagogy

We found three main features that contribute to describe the principles underlying CENS pedagogy: a class-group based pedagogy, a strong framing over selection of contents and a tension to weaken the framing in reference to pace. A fourth element, which needs in depth analysis after we present more data, is a tension to strengthen the framing over criteria (evaluation), which, at the same time, seems to be explicit.

Despite of heads giving or not guidelines to teachers, or whether there is consensus among staff on pedagogy, we found a common denominator, which can be considered as one of the major elements of the theory of instruction present amongst CENS staff. That is to respect students pace of learning, considering them as adult subjects of pedagogy taking into account their context (familial, work, etc.).

To understand the tension to weaken the pace it should be combined with the fact that teaching strategies are class group based, and that there are no textbooks. This led us to think in a strong framing over the hierarchy position setting and content selection and sequence.

We found that in three CENS (D, E, G) both teachers and directors reported having common guidelines about teaching. Although the guidelines and the source of consensus are different in these three schools the forms of control over teachers' pedagogy vary from the rest of the sampled schools.

All the teaching strategies teachers described seem to be economical, in two senses: they are economical in terms that they require little technology and material resources or time to prepare the plans, also require little symbolic resources in terms of pedagogical knowledge; and the strategies are economical in terms of class management with an average of more than 25 students per class.

Time and material resources were the elements teachers identified as sources for difficulties on their way of teaching. Also for teachers of CENS A, B, C, F heads control over regulative aspects of teachers' behaviour were considered as constraints.

We found that all heads referred giving guidelines on assessment. Four directors A, B, C and F referred to standards (low or high) and to have objective information to respond students' complaints. This could be clearly connected with the former issue on weakening the pace, as a way of retaining control over the transmission through assessment. C, D, E and G referred to be explicit about the examination criteria. We consider that both aspects allow thinking in a visible pedagogy as a main characteristic.

It could be said that there seem to be a weak pedagogic background in terms of the knowledge on literature and the limited variations on strategies. What leads us to think that the instructional theory of teachers is more constructed upon their experience as students and in the process of construction of their own work as teachers. The transmission is mainly oral and depend on the teachers' recontextualizing, and as there is no external control of examination the only possible direct control is that one by the head.

Thus the teachers are apparently free of direct external control over their practices and subject only to the direct control of the director. But a general lack of time, their own conditions in terms of the knowledge of the subject they teach, their own teaching training apparently restrict potential variations between teachers in their practice and, as we have said, their teaching may well consist of well established routines.

As we said before we consider teachers' intake as an index for understanding the construction of consensus among staff on pedagogy and as a way of knowing heads criteria. From teachers responses we already know that the majority of teachers were internally selected (72%) but we found three specific CENS D, E and G where almost the totality of teachers were internally selected. We may add to this group CENS C where two thirds of the teachers were internally selected. But we have to add that only teachers from CENS D, E and G and their heads confirmed having common guidelines on pedagogy and over contents.

5.4 Evaluation

In this section we are concerned about the forms and criteria rules of the evaluation of students. This is done with the aim of adding information to describe the pedagogic code modality that is realized in the sampled schools, and it would add information to describe the legitimate discourse at the CENS level.

5.4.1 Heads' views on evaluation

As we obtained information about directors criteria on assessment from the answers to the question related to guidelines, which were reported previously, our focus here is on reporting the questions about assessment on the consensus of methods and standards.

We asked directors if they were satisfied with the methods teachers used for assessing students. Four directors (A, C, D and F) answered they were satisfied with the assessment methods. Two directors (B and D) responded that they were satisfied with some teachers' methods but not with all their staff. CENS G answered that he was not satisfied but he thought that what they do is the best they can. It is important to say that two out of the four satisfied directors (C and F) answered that their teachers assess in the

“forms” directors suggest students should be evaluated. The same answer was given by CENS B directress when she said she was satisfied with “some teachers”, these teachers were those who assess students in the way the director established. These three directors (B, C and F) said that they ask teachers for a minimum of three written exams and that the exams should be objective tests type trying to be unambiguously scored in order to avoid “students’ complaints”. We should add that CENS B director imposed a final exam in her CENS, something that is unusual in the Argentinean educational system, in the form of a monographic paper that students prepare in small groups (3-5); nevertheless she sustained that teachers are “relaxed”, not really demanding, when marking those monographs.

Directors of CENS A, C and F were concerned about how the final grade to promote a student is constructed. These directors referred to the fact that they ask teachers to consider aspects such as attendance, effort and what they called “participation” (in class) in the final grade of the student. For these directors “participation in class” referred to students’ communication to the teacher in class: making questions, making explicit their opinions about a given issue. These aspects of students’ behaviour in class may change the final grade in the sense that if a student did not receive a ‘good’ mark in the written exams the final grade may be raised. On the contrary CENS B director stated that the construction of the final grade should be only made on the bases of the marks students received in the written exams, but teachers do not respect this rule and they use to upgrade marks according to effort and participation.

Most of the directors referred that students are generally afraid of the evaluation and that in regular secondary schools there is a history of teachers using the assessment as punishment instead of “as a tool to know where the students are in terms of learning” or “as an inherent process of the teaching”. Heads sustained they ask teachers to reduce this meaning of the assessment as punishment and a threat to the students. However CENS G director was the only one who said that his CENS had an institutional response to this problem: “The evaluations are permanent, if one fails an exam the following week the student has the exam again, and again and again, until he or she passes it. This is supported by special work of the teacher with that student. By doing this students feel safe”.

We asked directors whether there is consensus among the staff about the methods of assessing the students. Only two directors (CENS A and C) answered affirmatively. CENS C director said: "I do not like teachers to have different ways of evaluating, specially because if that happens students complain 'with this teacher it is like this and with that teacher it is different'." The other five directors (CENS B, D, E, F and G) answered that there is no consensus about the methods of assessment. CENS B and F directors gave similar answers: both directors said that they have tried to make an agreement between teachers about the methods but they just could not achieve any agreement among the staff. CENS D and E directors gave similar answers: they sustained that they give teachers freedom to decide the forms of assessing. Finally director from CENS G gave a distinct answer from the rest of the directors: this director said that the methods depend on the subject, "It is not the same in Mathematics than in Spanish or in 'Optical fiber' than in History, technical area teachers expect precision from the students, two plus two is four, there is no grey points."

The third question concerning assessment of the students was if there was consensus among the staff about the evaluation standards in each CENS. All the directors answered that there was no consensus about standards. However directors gave different reasons in order to explain the lack of consensus. Firstly, one group of three directors (A, D and E) gave similar answers saying that the standard depends upon each teacher level of demand. CENS D director added that he has been trying to achieve some consensus on assessment standards. Secondly, two directors (B and F) responded that those teachers who give marks as "gifts" to the students make the difference; the directors labelled these teachers as "demagogues". CENS C director answered that the difference of standard is based upon the available time for each subject, the level of demand is directly proportional to the amount of time of the subject in the curriculum: those teachers who deliver subjects with less time are less demanding than those teachers who deliver subjects with more time. CENS G director sustained that the difference of standards is given by subject area: specialisation area teachers are more demanding than general area teachers. This director also said that the CENS and the CI agreed the criterion to have high standards "to be reliable both within the union and with firms". This was confirmed in the interview with the CENS G CI representative.

5.4.2 Teachers' views on evaluation

This area of inquiry was designed in order to elicit criteria that teachers use when they assess students. We also obtained information about the forms of assessment.

We obtained very homogeneous answers to these questions without important differences. The instrument mostly used to assess students is a written exam, which consists of four or five open questions to be answered in approximately one hour. The exams are twice each term. The vast majority of the teachers said that in order to assign the final grade they consider not only the marks students received in the exams but their participation in class (i.e. asking questions, attention, attendance and dispositional aspects such as effort).

The fact that there was no difference between general and specialised teachers on the forms of the examinations, written exams, is consistent with the answers we obtained from the students' questionnaires (83% of the 132 students answered there was no difference between the forms of evaluation of general and specialised subjects).

In order to obtain information about the criteria teachers use we asked four questions:

“40. What are your aims when assessing the students?

44. What do you focus on when you assess the students?

45. How do you construct the exams?⁶⁸

46. Do you take into account non-academic aspects of the students when you assess the students?”

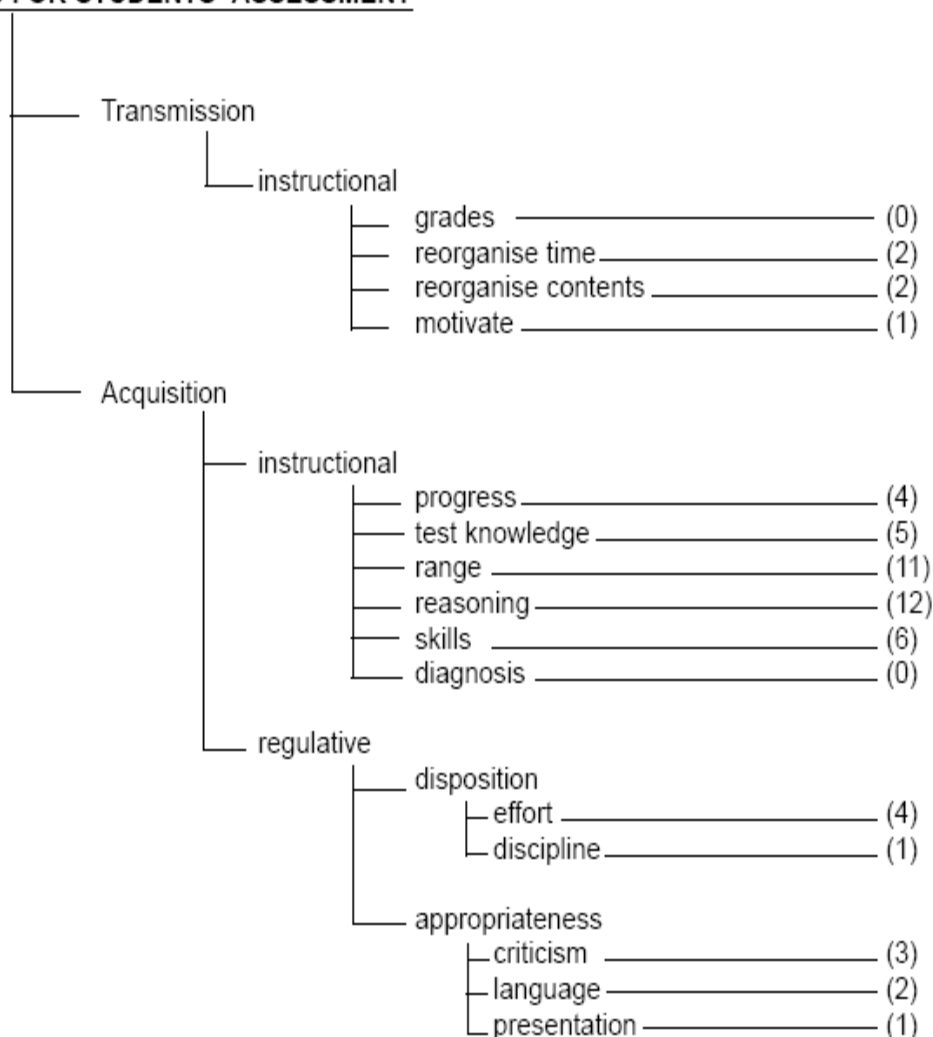
We would like to stress the difference between the questions about the aims and the focus of the assessment. The question on aims tries to obtain information about what the teachers expect from the evaluation whereas the question about the focus of the assessment intends to inquire on the emphasis teachers give to different aspects of the students' performance.

⁶⁸ As we did not obtain a description of the process of construction of the examinations, which was the purpose of the question, we do not report the results of this question.

The analysis of responses about aims of student assessment was done by the network we present below⁶⁹.

Network 5.1:

Aims for students' assessment

AIMS FOR STUDENTS' ASSESSMENT

49 out 54 entries of the network fall in **acquisition**. Furthermore, 38 of those 49 entries were entered under instructional; the other 11 responses of the subsystem are in regulative. The options reasoning (12 entries) and range of knowledge (11 entries), both belonging to **acquisition/instructional**, received the highest number of responses.

⁶⁹ For the description of the networks see Appendix III.

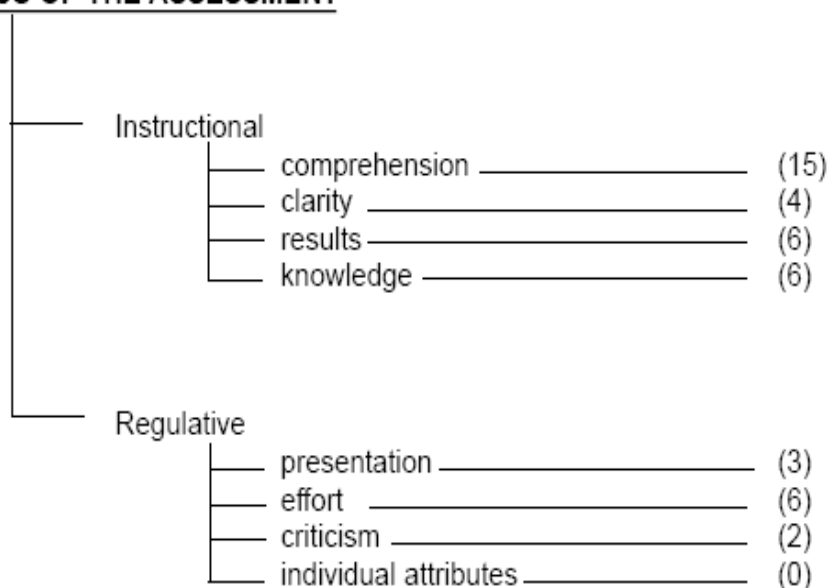
Three specialisation subject area teachers gave the only five responses that fall in the subsystem transmission. This again refers to specialisation teachers concern for instruction. There is no any other important difference in the distribution of answers neither by subject area nor by CENS.

We also constructed a network to analyze responses on focus of assessment. Three quarters (31 out of 42) of the entries fall under **instructional**. As we can see in the network below comprehension has the highest number of responses (15 entries). 6 out of the 11 entries of **regulative** fall within effort.

Network 5.2:

Focus of the assessment

FOCUS OF THE ASSESSMENT



Considering the results of the networks 'Aims of assessment' and 'Focus of assessment' we may conclude that teachers' point of view is to emphasise instructional aspects when they assess students rather than regulative aspects. Nevertheless it is necessary to look at the results of the next two questions to obtain a more complete picture.

After teachers answered the questions about the aims and focus of the assessment we asked teachers if they consider non-academic matters when they assess CENS students.

13 out of the 18 teachers who answered the question replied that they do take into account non-academic matters such as effort, whether students paid attention, attendance, attitudes towards teachers and companions. All these teachers said that if they do not consider these matters an important percentage of the students would not be promoted, nor would they finish the course.

It is of some importance to describe the group of teachers (five) who answered that they only considered academic matters. They said that evaluation is objective, “there is always only one valid result”. Three of these five teachers are accountancy teachers (specialisation area) and two teachers are mathematics teachers (general subject area). We believe that the kind of responses of these five teachers is directly connected to the recontextualization principles of the subjects they deliver.

In addition to these results it is important to note the answers teachers gave when we asked them: “Everyone seems to do well, how is that?”. There was a common element to the teachers’ responses: ‘consideration’ in the assessment. This answer of one teacher condenses the general opinion: “We help the students by giving opportunities in the examinations. We are relaxed and flexible when we assess them. If someone had a low mark in an exam but the student makes a real effort we promote him or her.”

5.4.3 Summary on assessment

Firstly we would like to recover here what heads have said on assessment guidelines, in order to regroup the information. A group of heads (A, B, C and F) referred about the standards criteria of the students’ assessment. We related this response with a tension to gain control over the framing as we saw that it was weakened in reference to pace.

The other group (with C overlapping the two groups) C, D, E and G stated that they demand their staff to be explicit about what they expect from students in the examinations. We understand this as an evidence of an orientation to visible pedagogy, but it can also be understood as an index of strong framing over criteria.

It should be said that a modality of visible pedagogy is present in all CENS, not only in these four; however these directors seem to have a clear idea of the importance of explicit criteria in order to support students' success in school.

In general, the forms of assessment used by the teachers satisfy heads, but only two directors (A and C) said that there is consensus among the staff on evaluation. A variation appears when three directors (A, C, F) referred that they ask teacher to consider regulative aspects such as effort or attendance in the decision of the final grade of the students.

From the point of view of heads there is no staff consensus on standards, and we find that for most directors the level of demand depends on each teacher. In a different way CENS C director answered that the level of demand is proportional to the subject time (more time more demanding), and director G said that specialization area teachers are more demanding than general area ones. Director G said this criterion was agreed with the CI.

We found that there are no differences in the forms of examinations between general and specialization subjects. This is interesting because the specialization subjects might have a very instrumental logic and specific features as in accountancy or software programming.

As we said before when we looked at results of the networks "aims of assessment" and "focus of assessment" we may conclude that teachers seem to emphasise instructional aspects when they assess students rather than regulative aspects. However when they were questioned about taking into account non-academic matters for promoting the students more regulative elements appear in their responses.

Considering all together the data on assessment obtained from teachers, it seems to be clear that teachers know very well the academic level of their students, and that there is a tension in keeping only instructional criteria for evaluation. Teachers maintain that if they applied strong instructional criteria very few students would succeed. Nevertheless even when teachers have an instructional orientation for assessing the students, the final decision about whether to promote or not a student is taken upon regulative criteria in which dispositional elements (i.e. effort) play an important role. We are inclined to believe that ultimately the criteria operating on assessment are regulative.

5.5 Students responses on transmission

In the students questionnaire we designed a full section on transmission. Now we will report on these results. Even though the data gathered from students is closed connected with that from teachers and heads and it needs to be crossed with that, we will present them separately in order to keep the views of the students as a whole.

By transmission here we are referring to two specific elements: **(1) Instructional discourse**: here we are interested in two discursive levels: (a) how the students evaluate the subjects they have studied and (b) students' views on the forms of assessment and their criteria; **(2) Regulative discourse**: here we were interested in whether the students considered they were receiving standards of conduct, personal and social.

5.5.1 Instructional discourse: students' evaluation of the subjects

We asked the students which subjects they get most out of. This was an open question where they only had to write down the name of the subjects. Then we asked why they selected these subjects. For the analysis of these questions we used the same categorisation of subjects (humanistic and not humanistic subjects, general and specialisation subjects) we used for the analysis of the teachers' questionnaire.⁷⁰

'Humanistic' subjects are those that received more responses to the question "Which subject do you get most out of?" Considering the pure subject areas answers, 65 students answered 'humanistic' and 32 students answered 'not humanistic'. If we group the subjects into 'general subjects' and 'specialisation subjects' the result is that 59 students answered 'general subjects' and 33 answered the specialisation ones.

If we consider the pair 'general / specialisation' division of subjects by CENS we find that in four CENS A, B, and F there is a clear dominance of the 'general subjects' category. It is interesting to notice that in CENS F no student mentions specialisation subjects. In CENS C the answers are concentrated in the category 'mixed areas' but the

⁷⁰ Here we call "pure area answers" those responses that report exclusively either humanistic / not humanistic subjects or general / specialised subjects. The category "mixed" refers to those answers which students reported both types of subjects.

humanistic subjects are dominant. CENS E is the only one where the answers are almost equally distributed between the pair general / specialisation but on the mixed responses the dominance is on not humanistic subjects. CENS D and G have more responses for specialization than for general. It is important to remember that these two CENS, D and G, which do not have a dominance of general subjects in the answers of the students, have a technical oriented curricula.

Table 5.8: Distribution of answers for subjects' areas by CENS

	General	Special.	Mixed	Total
CENS A	11	3	5	19
CENS B	14	8	8	30
CENS C	1	1	12	14
CENS D	3	6	2	11
CENS E	5	5	9	19
CENS F	19	-	2	21
CENS G	6	10	2	18
Total	59	33	40	132

The question "Why do you get most out of those subjects?" was an open one. After several attempts we finally grouped the responses in four categories⁷¹ and the results are as follows:

⁷¹**Instrumental:** "It is useful for work." "Related with further studies."

Personal: "It is easy for me." "I spend a lot of time on them." "It is difficult for me." "I like them" or "I am interested on them".

Transmission: "Teachers are clear" "Good explanations" "Good teachers"; "Pedagogy + I like the subject".

Knowledge: "It helps to understand the country/society." "It helps me to think better and understand big issues." "I acquire new knowledge." "I exercises my mind / communication."

Table 5.9: Distribution of answers to the question “Why do you get most out of those subjects” by gender

	Female	Male	Total	Percent
Instrumental	13	25	38	28.8
Personal ⁷²	20	18	38	28.8
Transmission	12	3	15	11.4
Knowledge	12	23	35	26.5
D/K	2	4	6	4.5
Total	59	73	132	100

With respect to the gender variable we found the highest number of female students' answers in the category “personal” (20 students), the rest of the answers are equally distributed across the other three categories. It is interesting that 12 out of the 15 students who answered “transmission” are females. Male students concentrated their answers in “instrumental” (25 students) and “knowledge” (23 students).

What is of interest when we examine the distribution of responses by CENS (table 5.10) is that there appear to be two different groups: CENS B, C and E have the highest responses in the “personal” category, 25 students out of the 38 in this category. Whereas in CENS G and F the students focus on the “instrumental” and “knowledge” categories, the number of responses for the two categories is 32 out of 39 students. However this difference seems to be related to gender rather than to CENS. CENS B and E that have the highest responses in “personal” (the category with more female students' responses) have a majority of female students and CENS C has the students almost equally distributed between females and males. Both CENS G, which has a majority of male students, and CENS F, which only has male students, has the answers concentrated in “instrumental” and “knowledge” (the categories that more male students reported).

⁷² 22 students out of the 38 answered: “I like the subject” or “I am interested in them”.

Table 5.10: Distribution of answers to the question “Why do you get most out of those subjects?” by CENS

	Instrumental	Personal	Transmission	Knowledge	D/K	Total
CENS A	7	4	3	4	1	19
CENS B	7	12	3	7	1	30
CENS C	2	6	3	2	1	14
CENS D	1	4	2	3	1	11
CENS E	4	7	3	4	1	19
CENS F	9	3	1	7	1	21
CENS G	8	2	-	8	-	18
Total	38	38	15	35	6	132

Finally we asked the students what subject they would have liked to study that was absent in their course. In three CENS (A, C and F) the students clearly wanted additional subjects. The additional subject required by 50 students (65%) out of 77 was computing. It is interesting to see that CENS D is the only CENS where very few of the students required additional subjects and this school has a software oriented curriculum specialisation.

Table 5.11: Absence of subject by CENS

	CENS A	CENS B	CENS C	CENS D	CENS E	CENS F	CENS G	Total
Yes	16	14	12	3	9	14	9	77
No	3	16	2	8	10	7	9	55
Total	19	30	14	11	19	21	18	132

5.5.2 Instructional discourse: students' views on assessment and criteria

The questionnaire had a set of questions related to assessment. We asked the students their opinion about evaluation, what they would change, differences between the evaluations in different subject-areas and how students succeed.

Criteria to succeed

The first question of the set was “If you had to advise how to get good results in the exams to new students of the CENS, what would you suggest to them?” The question was an open one and we categorised the answers in three groups⁷³. The distribution of the responses is as follows:

Table 5.12: Students' advice to succeed in evaluation

Category	Frequency	Percent
Study	75	56.8
Attention	23	17.4
Industrious	20	15.2
D/K-N/A	14	10.6
Total	132	100.0

Female students believe that to study (64%) is more important than male students (50%). The male students give, relatively, more importance to “attention” and “to be industrious” than female students (15/8 for attention and 16/4 for industrious).

⁷³**1. Study:** Study (as much as you can); Study in small groups + pay attention in class; Study + pay attention in class

2. Attention: Pay attention in class is the most important thing; Pay attention + ask the teacher without feeling shame; Attend as much as possible

3. Industrious: To have a constant pace of work; Effort

Although “attention” is included in the comments under the category **Study**, we have made **Attention** a separate category because those who mentioned attention did not mention study.

In all CENS the preferred advice is study and this is especially mentioned in CENS D and E.

Table 5.13: Students' advice to succeed by CENS

	Study	Attention	Industrious	D/K	Total
CENS A	12	4	1	2	19
CENS B	15	6	6	3	30
CENS C	6	3	3	2	14
CENS D	8	1	1	1	11
CENS E	16	-	1	2	19
CENS F	11	5	3	2	21
CENS G	7	4	5	2	18
Total	75	23	20	14	132

Forms of assessment

With respect to forms of assessment we first asked the students if they would like some change in the way they are assessed. Only 46 (35%) students out of the 132 questioned said they would like some change in evaluation.

There are no gender and age differences. We found that, relatively speaking, those who do not have a job wanted more change on evaluation than those who have a job as we can see in the table 5.14.

Table 5.14: Change of assessment by employment

	Change	No change	Total
Employed	31	64	95
Unemployed	14	18	32
Housewife	1	4	5
Total	46	86	132

If we look at the answers to this question by students' occupation we find that those students who have manual positions want, relatively speaking, more change in evaluation than the rest of the students (supervising and clerical medium and low). 24 (45%) students of the 53 who hold manual occupations want a change on evaluation, whereas only 21 students (29%) out of the 73 who have non-manual position want a change in evaluation. It should be remembered that 15 of the 32 unemployed belong to the manual category.

Table 5.15: Assessment change by occupation

	Change	No change	Total
Supervising	4	9	13
Manual h+m	11	16	27
Clerical Medium	5	22	27
Clerical low	12	21	33
Manual low	13	13	26
Housewife	1	5	6
Total	46	86	132

There are two CENS (A and F) where we can find clearly different answers. These two CENS have about half of the students answering they want changes in evaluation, which also represents almost the half of the overall responses for change of the evaluation form.

If we consider the students' answers for changing assessment in relation to the motives of beginning their studies, we found that 13 (45%) students out of the 29 who do not want to go to higher education want change in evaluation. This might be a sign that the change in evaluation is not directly related to aims of the students as one might expect.

Those students who answered that they would like some changes in the forms of assessment were then asked what kind of change they would like. 67% of the students did

not answer this question. We classified the answers in four categories⁷⁴ and the general results are as follows:

Table 5.16: Responses on type of change in the forms of assessment

No answer	88	66.8%
1. Level of difficulty	16	12%
2. Frequency	10	7.6%
3. Type of evaluation	11	8.3%
4. Moral	7	5.3%
Total	132	100%

The students were asked whether they saw differences between the evaluation of the general subjects and the evaluation of the specialisation subjects. 83% (110/132) of the students reported that there was no difference. The number remaining is too small for further analysis.

5.5.3 Regulative discourse

We asked the students whether they thought teachers were giving them ideas about how to behave and live in society. 91 (69%) of the 132 students said that they thought teachers transmit such ideas to them. Over two thirds of the students (68%) out of the 91 who said they receive ideas said that this happens in humanistic subjects (both general and specialised, but we have to remember that most of the humanistic subjects belong to the general area).

There are no relevant differences in the answers by gender, age or employment. However with respect to occupation, 'supervising' and 'clerical medium' are those groups of students where we found a large majority of students answering that they received

⁷⁴**1. Level of difficulty:** clearer questions; easier tests; easier + home tests; shorter tests

2. Frequency: More often; Not too often;

3. Type of evaluation: group evaluation; evaluation of a group + assignments; multiple choice; reasoning not memorising; more exercises/practical

4. Moral: acknowledge effort; marking without preferences/ prejudice

ideas from teachers ('supervising' 11 out of 13 students, 'clerical medium' 22 out of 27). It may be that students with higher job positions are more aware of the transmission of ideas by the teachers.

CENS C and D have the highest numbers of positive responses: in CENS C only two out of the 14 students and in CENS D only one out of 11 students reported not receiving ideas of conduct and manners from their teachers.

Table 5.17: Ideas about social life and behaviour by CENS

	Yes	No	Total
CENS A	14	5	19
CENS B	24	6	30
CENS C	12	2	14
CENS D	10	1	11
CENS E	9	10	19
CENS F	14	7	21
CENS G	8	10	18
Total	91	41	132

Thus transmission of regulative discourse seems to be clearly perceived by the students of all CENS. This is especially the case for CENS C and D where we found the greatest recognition of the teachers' transmission of ideas about social and personal conduct. At the other extreme we find CENS E and G: 20 out of the 41 students who answered that they do not receive ideas from the teachers belong to these two CENS (10 out of the 19 students of CENS E and 10 out of the 18 students of CENS G). This raises the question whether those teachers are not transmitting such ideas or that some students do not recognise their transmission (may be because of sharing these ideas).

Those students who answered positively were asked to continue with the question "What ideas are you receiving from the teachers?" This was an open question and we

grouped the answers in five categories⁷⁵. We only considered those students who answered the question “what idea do you receive”; therefore those who think that they do not receive any and those who did not answer this question are excluded of the analysis.

The general results are as follows:

Table 5.18: Type of ideas students receive from teachers

1. Moral	25	31.6 (%)
2. Knowledge	14	17.7 (%)
3. Understanding society	27	34.2 (%)
4. Work	4	5.1 (%)
5. Self confidence	9	11.4 (%)
Total	79	100 (%)

It should be noticed that 66% of the answers are concentrated in two categories: ‘Moral’ and ‘Understanding society’. Considering that two thirds of the students reported to receive ideas from the general subject teachers we might expect these kinds of ideas to be transmitted.

As we can see in table 5.19, younger students concentrated their answers in the ‘Moral’ category. The older students concentrated their answers in the category ‘understanding society’, and, relatively speaking, in ‘knowledge’.

⁷⁵1. **Moral**: “How to be a better person”; “How to behave in the society (future meaning)”; “Rules for living in the school and in the society.”

2. **Knowledge**: “New ways of thinking and knowing”; “Knowing through readings and our own experience” “Knowledge that I did not have before attending the CENS “

3. **Understanding society**: “Communication + understanding of society” “Understanding of the society (how it works)”

4. **Work**: “How to improve my performance at my work” “What is happening at my work (firm)”

5. **Self confidence**: Only self confidence

Table 5.19: Ideas given by age groups

	< 34	> 35	Total
1. Moral	20	5	25
2. Knowledge	7	7	14
3. Understanding society	16	11	27
4. Work	3	1	4
5. Self confidence	9		9
Total	55	24	79

There are no gender differences. Yet the four answers in the category “work” are from male students and 6 out of the 9 students who answered “self confidence” are females.

As we can see in table 5.20, when we consider the occupation of the students we find that in the clerical categories 28 out of 60 students answered either ‘Moral’ (12) or ‘Understanding society’ (16).

Table 5.20: Ideas given by occupation

	No idea	Moral	Knowledge	Understanding Society	Work	Self confidence	D/K	Total
Supervising	2	2	3	2	-	2	2	13
Manual h+m	10	5	4	5	2	1		27
Clerical medium	5	7	3	7	1	1	3	27
Clerical low	13	5	2	9	1	-	3	33
Manual low	9	5	2	3	-	4	3	26
D/K	2	1		1	-	1	1	6
Total	41	25	14	27	4	9	12	132

By grouping those CENS that have answers both for “Moral” and “Understanding society” we found that there are four CENS where half of the students answer one of the two categories. These CENS are: A, B, C and F. This distribution is not found in CENS D, E and G. We should remember that CENS E and G have half of the students who responded that they do not receive any ideas.

5.5.4 Summary of students’ view of transmission

In the first part of the section we looked at the students’ evaluation of the instructional discourse, specifically focused on subjects. Half of the students said that they get most from the humanistic subjects. Only the technical CENS (D and G) had a predominance of specialization and not humanistic subjects. It is interesting to see how the curriculum orientation of the CENS operates in the case of the technical CENS. Yet other CENS, non-technical but administrative oriented like school E also have a different distribution from the rest where it is divided in halves between general and specialization subjects. The fact that the general and humanistic subjects are the most important for the students may be related to the students’ expectation of continuing further studies in higher education, as will be shown in chapter 7. Students may evaluate general education as more valuable for them in order to pursue further studies than the specific work oriented curriculum specialisation.

Looking at the distribution of answers to the question “Why do you get the most out of those subjects?” we found that the distribution is mainly related to the gender, which was confirmed by the distribution of answers by CENS. Female students’ responses are concentrated in the category ‘Personal’ and ‘Transmission’ whereas the male students focused on ‘Instrumental’ and ‘Knowledge’. It seems that female students are more concerned with relational aspects of the transmission (whether teachers are clear or students’ personal relation to the subject) whereas male students seem to be rather concerned with instrumental aspects of the transmission (whether it is useful for work or if the subject facilitates a better understanding of an issue).

With respect to the question about the absence of a subject students would have liked to study, the only CENS with very few positive responses is CENS D, which has com-

puting as its specialisation. The rest of the students demand computing as a subject to be introduced in the curricula.

In the second part of this section we analysed the results concerning evaluation. 56.8% of the students answered that studying is the way to succeed in the evaluations; the categories “attention” and “industrious” together represent 32.6% of the responses. However all the answers are strongly linked to the need for time which is a limited resource for the student population of CENS. In addition to this need on the part of the students we know that the work context of the teachers clearly indicates that time also is a very limited resource for them (as we have seen in chapter 4). Thus there may well be strong constraints on the teaching practices in the schools. These constraints may lead to a standardising of teaching practices and to strong framing arising out of the lack of time of both teachers and students.

It is interesting that only 35% of the students want a change in the forms of assessment. It is even more interesting that these answers for change are concentrated (36 -78%-out of the 46) in four CENS A, B, C and F.

There is no difference between the students’ perception about the evaluation of general and specialised subjects. We are inclined to believe that the approach to evaluation is formal, as it is in the “regular” secondary school.

69% of the students said that they receive ideas about how to behave and live in society. When we asked the students from which subject teachers they received these ideas the majority answered humanistic subjects. The same subjects that they identified as those they mostly get things out of. Two thirds of the responses were related to “moral” or “understanding society” ideas. Younger students concentrated their answers in the “moral” and “self confidence” categories whereas older students focused on “understanding society” and “knowledge” ideas. This finding is a first confirmation of our expectation that general teachers placed an emphasis upon regulative discourse whereas the emphasis of specialist teachers was upon instructional discourse (see chapter 7 report on Aims).

Only two CENS, E and G had half of the students who answered that they do not receive ideas from teachers. What is of some interest is that when we looked at the distribution of responses by CENS we find that the group of CENS A, B, C and F has half of the students answering either moral or understanding society whereas the group of CENS D, E and G has only one fourth of the students answering in these categories.

5.6 Discussion on transmission

Discussion on our research area “transmission” is a first step of the analysis in the general study.

Transmission is a main dimension in the topology we are trying to do and it is directly related to the CENS pedagogic code modality realizations and the reproduction of the pedagogic discourse. We have to describe the pedagogic code, but it will not be enough with the data we have analysed so far, we will need to consider the information analysed in the chapters that follow in order to have the complete picture. Some of the findings we have reported in this chapter will be enlightened or they will have a better comprehension after having analysed all of the information.

We have decided portraying the information according to the three message systems through which formal education knowledge is relayed. As the focus of our research is upon organizational practices we had to deal with the methodological challenge of getting the principles of the pedagogic code without looking at the classroom.

Starting with a general picture of the pedagogic code considering the official documents we may say that CENS have a strong classification between general and specialization areas and between subjects, in a structure of subjects discipline based. Also considering the official syllabi established by the State it is possible to say that the framing is also strong in reference to content selection, sequence, pace (as each year course is divided in terms each with a specific distribution of contents) and evaluation criteria. In terms of official pedagogic discourse, the general emphasis declared in the official documents is upon the vocational orientation of the curriculum, but there are also references to a propaedeutical function to higher education and to the legal value of the sec-

ondary level certification of CENS equivalent to regular secondary education. These references to regular secondary education can be understood as a form of legitimising (before the rest of the educational system and may be also to the labour market) the certificate of the adult secondary schools.

We found variations both between the official discourse and the CENS and among the sampled schools. Variations were found in: values of discourse classification (internal) between general and specialization subjects area, values of external (State) framing over curriculum and syllabi, values of internal framing over selection of contents (in terms of head – teachers relation, and between teachers), principles of control over teachers pedagogy, and variation in the evaluation criteria. Also differences were found in the emphasis given to the general orientation of the curriculum (general / propaedeutical, vocational) and in the transmission.

The variations of values of the principle of classification in the different schools allow us to describe differences of the principles of the social division of labour and the category construction of discourses and agents, which, in turn, lead to different social orders that would have consequences in the social relations.

As it was presented in the theoretical chapter through descriptions of classification it is possible to access the social division of labour as well as the social order of a given agency. The principle of that social order effects the transmission by the constitution of the category voice, the potential meanings to be produced. We also know from the theory that any division of labour has two dimensions: horizontal and vertical (Bernstein, 1990a; 22). The horizontal refers to belonging to a category, sharing a positional space of the category, while the vertical refers to hierarchy position of a given category in a set or the hierarchy relation between sets.

The diversity we found in the classification values of general and specialization subject areas and variation on the emphasis of the discourse allow us to think in differences in terms of discourse and agents hierarchy. Therefore we have schools where specialization area discourses (and agents) have a privileged position from general area discourses (in different degree from stronger to weaker hierarchy CENS G, D, E). And we

found schools where the hierarchical position is held by general subject area discourses (agents) (in different degree from stronger to weaker hierarchy CENS A, F, C, B).

The differences on the principle of classification and its values effect the transmission. Where we found a dominance of specialized discourses the emphasis is upon the vocational orientation of the curriculum, where we found an emphasis on general education it is maintained in a dominance of general area discourses. A very important confirmation of this is given in the results of the students' questionnaires. While at the same time that half of the sampled students answered they got most from general and humanistic subjects in the same three schools where we found variation on the values of internal discourse classification students answered differently; there is a clear dominance of specialization subjects in two cases (E, G) and in other (D) the responses are distributed in halves, which is not the case for the other four CENS.

Looking at the internal control (framing) over the syllabi construction the group of three CENS considered above (D, E, G) has a stronger framing than the other group. This is a way to maintain and reproduce the principle of classification but it is yet a matter of in depth description and analysis, how and who maintain and reproduce the isolation between categories (in terms of power relations) and the relations of the code realization with external discourses. These will be treated in the next chapter.

These findings on internal control syllabi have a correspondence with external framing, from the State, over curriculum and syllabi. It was described that in some CENS (E, D, G) there was a difference between the official curriculum and official syllabi with those collected at each CENS. It was also reported that in the other four CENS (A, B, C, F) no significant differences were found with the official documents. There seems to be a relation between external control over the curriculum, recontextualization of it in the context of reproduction (CENS) and internal classification and framing over discourses.

Power relations create, legitimise and reproduce boundaries, and control carries the boundary relations of power and carries its reproduction and the possibility of change (BB, 2000; 5). So we have a given classification and specific forms of control to reproduce it. (We will later discuss issues on tension, conflicts and change.) But in what we

have up to now there is a different translation of power and control relations into the school division of labour and forms of control, both in terms of external and internal framing. It seems that the room for discretion we found in some schools (and particularly some directors), as one of the heads put it “is not given (by the State) but taken”. This will be related to issues of recontextualization and reproduction of pedagogic discourse at the organizational / school level.

Considering control of the pedagogic practice we had access to it from various points and views and we focused our search on trying to obtain the main principles underlying the pedagogic practice at CENS. We knew that there is a strong framing over content selection and sequence, a general tension to weaken the pace, explicit evaluation criteria, a tension to strengthen framing over evaluation and a general limited variation of teaching strategies which are fundamentally class-group based.

One common element about pedagogy was found all across the inquiry that is “to respect students pace of learning” and to take into account their familial and work context. This becomes one significant aspect of a legitimate theory of instruction among CENS. We also found common elements that configure constraints over pedagogy. Time came out as a key element for both teachers and students.

Students consider that lack of time (because of context contingencies of adult life) is one of the main reasons why some students cannot finish their studies and, also, time for studying is what helps to success at CENS. The work context of the teachers clearly indicates that time is a very limited resource for these teachers (the average number of hours which includes work at the CENS and other paid work is 32 per teacher weekly, only considering the time in front of a classroom). At the same time most of the teachers reported that the teaching time in CENS is short considering the amount of contents that they should deliver. This lack of time may well constrain teaching practices (preparation of classes, plans, readings). We are inclined to believe that the little variation of teaching strategies is also regulated by time a constraint which leads to a strong framing, particularly with respect to selection, sequence and evaluation criteria. This framing may be weaker with respect to pace, but only within certain limits. It must be considered that a class-group based pedagogy does not permit individual pace attention. In the analysis

of pedagogy and control over pedagogy this time constraints must be combined with a weak pedagogic background which apparently restricts teachers' capability to modify both syllabi and pedagogies, as well as that CENS work only three hours per day.

Apart from these constraints we found that for teachers from CENS A, B, C, F an additional constraint is a direct control from heads over their own work focused on regulative aspects (i.e. manners, dressing, punctuality).

A note should be added about pace and time with reference to two analytical levels: pedagogic practice and pedagogic discourse. In the context of the theory pace is elaborated as one of the elements that rules the pedagogic practice and it is related to the rule of sequence and it is considered as the "economy of pedagogic discourse" (Bernstein, 1990a; 66, 76-79; 1990b, 82-ss). Bernstein sustains that curricula cannot be acquired only in the school; this is because the rhythm of acquisition is such that the school time must be supplemented by an official pedagogic time at home. He also adds that there should be an official pedagogic discipline at home. This development was done by Bernstein for the case of children education. He sustains that the child must be controlled by the parents in order to do the homework, and that the homework presupposes time to do it, a text and a context, a space of quietness. He says that this time and space is not available in lower working class homes. Under such conditions there cannot be an effective second official space for acquisition.

Now we must consider this elaboration for the case of adult students. We know, from our empirical context, that CENS students are mainly lower working classes, most of them could not finish their secondary school in the expected age and time or some even had not started it, and most of them are working or looking for a job. Almost half of the sampled students have low positions jobs, and only 10% have supervision positions. So we can perfectly assume that the second space of acquisition is not an easy, quiet one, as Bernstein described an official pedagogic space at home. On the other hand, in the case of adults the required official pedagogic discipline at home must be self imposed and acquired sometime in the past socialization, as there are not transmitters at home (as parents) from whom to learn it.

“We can regard pacing rules as regulating the economy of the transmission and so these rules become the meeting point of the material, discursive, and social base of the transmission.” (Bernstein, 1990a; 79)

Inasmuch as the above theoretical reference we can understand the fact that the issue of pace is a crucial one in the CENS pedagogic practice and that it becomes a central matter for tensions. This weak pace may lead to a focus of transmission on rather regulative aspects and in terms of instructional discourse oriented to basic skills, rather than academic instructional ones (the profound principles of knowledge), which requires a stronger pace.

We also know that the students of the sampled schools have a higher educational level than the average of national figures and higher for the age group and labour situation. Bernstein (1990a; 78) also says that the rule of pace acts selectively over who can acquire the dominant pedagogic code of the school and this constitutes a principle for social class selection. Then the author relates that a change to a weaker pace requires a different allocation of both cultural and economic capital at school. A weaker pace is more expensive, requires more time for both the school and the acquirer, and requires specific (more expensive) teacher training. CENS might be selecting those students who have some pedagogic discipline and some particular context situation that allow them to cope with the school pace. (We will elaborate this information in the next chapter.) Also the fact that CENS are selecting mostly students with some previous secondary school experience imply that these students have already acquired the required basic skills for studying, which in terms of the sequence is a prerequisite for autonomous extra school homework (Bernstein, 1990a; 75).

We consider that teachers' intake is a form of internal control over pedagogy.⁷⁶ The way that the teachers were appointed is an indication of differences in the forms of control in the schools and in the use of the autonomy that schools have. We found that there is a high level of consensus (about common guidelines on pedagogy, contents and assessment) in those CENS where the large majority of the teachers were internally appointed and low consensus where most teachers were externally appointed. Thus where ap-

⁷⁶ In terms of the analytical distinction we made between the area of “transmission” and “institutional relations”, the issue about intake corresponds to the latter. We decided to include it here because of the influence that intake had on control over pedagogy.

pointments are internal there may well be few problems of control because of greater consensus among the staff. The informality of the appointing procedure creates considerable potential discretion for the director in the matter of staff recruitment. There may be differences, as well, with respect to the engagement of the staff in the school, level of satisfaction of the teachers and consensus between the teachers and the directors. This will be specifically analyzed in the next chapters.

Now we turn to the construction of the legitimate pedagogic discourse at CENS. In the official documents there is an indication that the emphasis of the discourse is over the vocational orientation of the curriculum and a definition of the target population as adults but with a direct relation to their involvement in the labour market. There are also references to “open access to further education” as an aim for CENS, which is connected to issues of legitimacy of CENS certificate having the same value that the regular secondary education certification.

This double way of defining the orientation of the CENS discourse apparently gives some room to different recontextualizations in the sampled schools. Taking into account the general outcomes already reported in this chapter, it seems that the most common principle of the pedagogic discourse is of a general education rather than vocational, with variations in some schools. These variations mean differences in the principles of recontextualization of the official pedagogic discourse at the level of the field of reproduction.

From the point of view of the students (considered here as a category without considering the distribution by CENS) general and humanistic subjects are those they consider more important and useful. The utility of what they acquire in the CENS was lowly related to work. Also students acknowledge receiving regulative discourse elements (moral and understanding society), particularly from those subjects they identified as the most important for them (general and humanistic). From the point of view of what teachers consider the main aim of their teaching, instructional aspects, particularly skills (cognitive and basic skills), and stances related to work were very few. When we combined responses coded in the category ‘skills’ and the category ‘knowledge’ (both instructional) we obtained two thirds of the instructional entries. However, although regulative aims received fewer entries than the instructional, it is of some importance that 14

out of the 19 teachers gave answers of this type. Thus, we consider that regulative aspects, such as discipline or communication, are an important part of teachers' aims of teaching. (This will be reconsidered, specifically reported and analysed in the chapter on identities)

With respect to evaluation and criteria we have already commented that, although teachers responses about their criteria in assessing the students referred to instructional elements, the final criteria to promote a student to the next year are rather regulative. This was confirmed by most of the heads. From the point of view of the students there is no difference between the evaluation of general and specialised subjects. We are inclined to believe that the approach to evaluation is formal, as it is in the "regular" secondary school.

If the final and determinant criteria are regulative oriented, as it seems, we think this would be ruling the pedagogic practice. From developments in the code theory we know that the rule of evaluation criteria is one of the rules of the pedagogic practice (Bernstein, 1990a; Chapter 2). And we know that these evaluation criteria allow understanding what is a legitimate or illegitimate communication. The acquisition of this rule also is related to the possibility of producing a legitimate text, in terms of the realization rule. It can be hypothesized that when the focus of the evaluation is regulative the legitimate text also is, and instructional texts fell in a subordinate position but, it must be added, instructional texts does not disappear. Thus a main legitimate message to be produced would be in terms of regulative discursive features, such as those of discipline, manners, forms of communication, skills for life, and in a general way social skills for work, or what we called social discipline. In connection with this, if the prevailing evaluation criteria are regulative we may think that: on one hand the amount of transmitted instructional content might be reduced from the expected and, on the other hand, the evaluation criteria might be not so explicit. In this context we ask ourselves whether the general features of a visible pedagogy (Bernstein, 1977, 1990a, 1990b) are drawn on features of an invisible pedagogy.

"...it is possible that features of invisible pedagogy will be found as specialized practices within a predominantly visible pedagogy modality. Here such a specialized practice is likely to be particular to a part of the curriculum (e.g. life skills), addressed to a particular social group (e.g. disadvantaged class or eth-

nic groups), or may even form part of an assessment procedure. In general visible pedagogies and/or 'integrated' pedagogic practices are more likely to be formed at primary level or, if at secondary level, associated with disadvantaged social groups as means of their social control." (...) "... specialized invisible pedagogic practices are still likely to be inserted as devices of social control." (Bernstein, 1990a; 91-92)

To put this discussion into a different level of analysis, evaluation gives us a different and meaningful entrance to describe the pedagogic discourse and its regulation over pedagogic practice. When Bernstein develops the concept of pedagogic device sustains that, "Evaluative rules constitute any pedagogic practice. Any specific pedagogic practice is there for one purpose: to transmit **criteria**. Pedagogic practice is, in fact, the level which produces a ruler for consciousness" (Bernstein, 2000; 28, original emphasis). Then the author summarises "Evaluation condenses the meaning of the whole device." (2000; 36). Through the evaluation rules Bernstein solves the problem of transforming pedagogic discourse into practice. We have done the reverse way, trying to understand some elements of the pedagogic discourse from the evaluation criteria. In this sense a general regulative emphasis of the pedagogic discourse (even considering the variation of some CENS), which should be related with a weak pace as part of the theory of instruction, which is a component of the regulative discourse (Bernstein, 2000; 34, Bernstein, 1990a; 189, Daniels, 1987; 81) and the consideration of the pace as an expression of economy of the pedagogic discourse and source of selection, altogether gives us a sense of the pedagogic subject that the pedagogic discourse is constructing and the social order the regulative discourse produces. It should also allow defining the identity formation that produces the pedagogic discourse (this will be also considered in Chapter 7).

All these data on discourse allow hypothesizing that the CENS, in general, seems to be working as a repair system for uncompleted secondary education rather than a vocational or training system, also oriented for social skills for life and work. However it should be said that in the case of the group of CENS D, E, G the discursive orientation seems to be rather vocational, but we think that this does not necessarily invalidate a general effect of CENS as repair system. This will be matter of further discussion when we enrich the data in the next chapters.

Tensions were found between general and specialization teachers. This is, on one hand, connected to challenges of the principles of classification we already commented but, on the other hand, it is an indication of tensions in the recontextualization of the pedagogic discourse in CENS. Only general area teachers complained about the distribution of time between areas, asking for more time to the general area and also these teachers were the most dissatisfied with the range of subject taught and syllabi.

There are external regulations over the reproduced pedagogic discourse some of which come from the official pedagogic discourse as the official documents act as constraints or matter of agreement or challenge. The official pedagogic discourse was present as a reference for most of the responses we obtained. The references to regular secondary school curriculum might also be considered as an external regulation from the official pedagogic discourse. However from the analysis done in this chapter we know that certain external framing and regulation operate differently in the seven schools.

The analysis of the code realization in the sampled schools shows that values of classification and framing vary as well as the general emphasis and bias of the transmission, variation on the elaborated and transmitted meanings (Bernstein, 2000; 14-15; Bernstein, 1990a; 41-43). The variations that were described in this chapter show that a given pedagogic code, even, a given official pedagogic discourse is realized differently at the school level (Bernstein, 1977; 7, Bernstein and Díaz, 1985; 136 and ff.). However it should be said that variations move within certain limits that might be object of Official Recontextualization Field regulation. One of the main results is that the official curriculum (considering both the plan and the syllabi) is object of recontextualization at the school level. This recontextualization varies from one school to other. At this point of the exposition it is not possible to identify the sources that regulate this recontextualization, which will be discussed in the next chapter. A first approach may lead to interpret that there is rather a stronger internal control than external from the State; it remains to analyze the role of the CI as external regulation. This will be deeply analyzed in the chapter on social relations. Yet it is necessary to see variations in the outcomes and to complete the information on social order, relations and identity. These are elements to be discussed in the chapters to follow.

6. EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL INSTITUTIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

6.1 Introduction

This area of inquiry focuses on the institutional relationships: (1) external relationships (State, CI, other organizations) and (2) internal relationships. We shall concentrate on the tensions, agreements, cleavages and autonomies, which arise out of the various institutional relations. This chapter is mainly about positions, their social relations and contributes to the task of describing both the pedagogic code and the construction of the pedagogic discourse.

The social relationships are those where the organization itself is realized, where a given pedagogic discourse and a pedagogic code are realized. Via the description and study of the social relations we may be able to describe the social order of the school, its tensions, contradictions and cleavages. We expect that the description of the social relations and the social order would allow us to have access to the configuration of meanings constructed in the school, as the social order and its dynamic is what makes transmission possible and it is the relay of the legitimate order and of the legitimate discourse.

Through the description of the social order and the social relations, combined with the description made on transmission, we should be capable of describing the pedagogic discourse(s). In relation with the recontextualization of pedagogic discourse we pay attention on the modalities of control, both external and internal, which relay power relations and, looking at them, we will also have access to issues of conflict and tension over the realization of the code modality in each school.

The social order of the symbolic field agencies is not only a function of internal power and control relations, also, and in a crucial form, external power and control relations effect the internal social order of these agencies. That is why here we combine external and internal institutional relations of CENS.

In relation to external institutional relationships, we will look at what position the schools take towards the State, the CI and other significant organizations. In this sub-area, we will describe different positions with different degree of power. We will examine the relationships of the school with the State and with the CI and their consequences. We will see how the schools process external “discourses”, how the school deals with external demands, the tensions and agreements created by those relations, strategies for dealing with the outside.

The agencies and organizations in contact with the CENS are the Department for Adult Education, the inspectors, the Counterpart Institution, relevant community organizations, institutions of further education.

In relation with internal relationships we designed the search in such a form which would allow us to describe how the school reproduces itself, in terms of its social relationships, what elements challenge the reproduction, how contradictions and consensus are created. We will look at the degree of diversity among the different schools. This sub-area is concerned about selection, social relations, sites of negotiation and forms of discipline.

6.2 External Relations

Our interest in recording the external relations of the schools is oriented to describe and understand the type of external regulation over the school functioning, particularly over transmission. The theory contributes to two levels of analysis: one refers to the external values of classification and framing, the other is on the local recontextualization of the pedagogic discourse.

We consider two main dimensions for the analysis of the external relations: one refers to symbolic external regulation; the other refers to economic external regulation. The

first one defines the type of external influence over the meanings constructed and transmitted in the CENS, the second defines the external supply of material resources needed or required by the school. Also external relations will give us a picture on sources of power and forms of control over the realization of the pedagogic code and discourse.

We shall report about external relations with the State (the central office from which the CENS formally depends, DEAyA and the inspectors), with the Counterpart Institution (CI), and other institutions with which the school may have any kind of relations. The information was gathered from three sources: heads, teachers and CI representatives.

6.2.1 External relations with the State:

From all the heads point of view a first issue was that they saw the main relation with the Department of Adult Education (DEAyA) as administrative one, just in terms of “bureaucratic exchange of papers”. In concrete terms they are talking about control over the information on students and teachers attendance statistics, the number of students who were promoted from one year to the next and those who finish the course. All of them said that they have a “correct” relation with the staff of the Department, but not particularly close.

When they were asked about accountability to the State, three heads (A, C and F) said that they feel some but weak responsibility towards the DEAyA with respect to academic achievement or their own work as directors. The other four heads (B, D, E and G) feel no responsibility towards the State, in any sense.

We asked heads if they would like to have another kind of relation with the DEAyA. All of them responded that it would be interesting to have some special training for CENS heads on issues such as adult learning, how to run a school for adult people. Another common issue raised by the heads was that they frequently ask for meetings among CENS directors, to reduce the isolation they feel in their job and to know how other schools work. Three directors (D, E and G) added that it would be useful to have meetings with other CENS which have the same curriculum orientation to share issues on curriculum organization, subject contents, vocational and adult edu-

cation. All heads referred that it would be necessary some pedagogic support from the State also for the teachers.

When heads were questioned on issues about control, they responded that they do not feel particularly controlled by the State and that they think that the freedom they hold is not only appropriate but also necessary to run a school.

In terms of material resources a note should be added here. The reader should be recalled one of the features we have already presented in chapter 4, which is that the CI is responsible for supplying all the material resources, needed for teaching. Four heads referred receiving material resources from the State, because the CI does not give enough (C and F) or does not give any (A and B). In the case of CENS A and B the CI do not even supply the space for the school, therefore they work at the evening in a school that depends of the State.

With respect to inspectors all heads agreed that their role is just bureaucratic, with no influence in any pedagogic matter. There are some differences in the relations of the heads with their inspectors but it only varies upon the personal relation.

We were interested to seek information about the external control teachers receive; therefore we questioned teachers about their relation with the inspectors. Firstly we asked teachers if they have any contact with the CENS inspector. Only four out of the 19 teachers said that they had some contact with the inspector. Two of these four teachers saw the inspector once in a memorial. The other two teachers who had relation with the inspector (belong to CENS C) when they asked the inspector to intervene in a conflict that teachers had with the director of the CENS. They did not receive any reply from the inspector and they had to accept the directors' decision.

The teachers who answered that they never had any contact with the inspector where asked if they would like to have any relation and, if so, what they would expect from an inspector. Six teachers answered that they do not want to have any relation with the inspectors because "they are useless", "the inspectors cannot help us in any way". However the other 9 teachers said that they would like the inspectors to make linkages between

CENS, i.e. between CENS that have the same curriculum orientation, in order to know what other schools were doing. All these teachers said that they feel extremely isolated from the rest of the CENS and regarded the schools as islands in the system of adult education.

From the data reported above plus what we have already analysed we can say that there is no direct control from the State. The regulation that may be done by the State could be located in the general regulation of teaching, in the official syllabus, in the official certification for teachers.

6.2.2 External relation with the CI

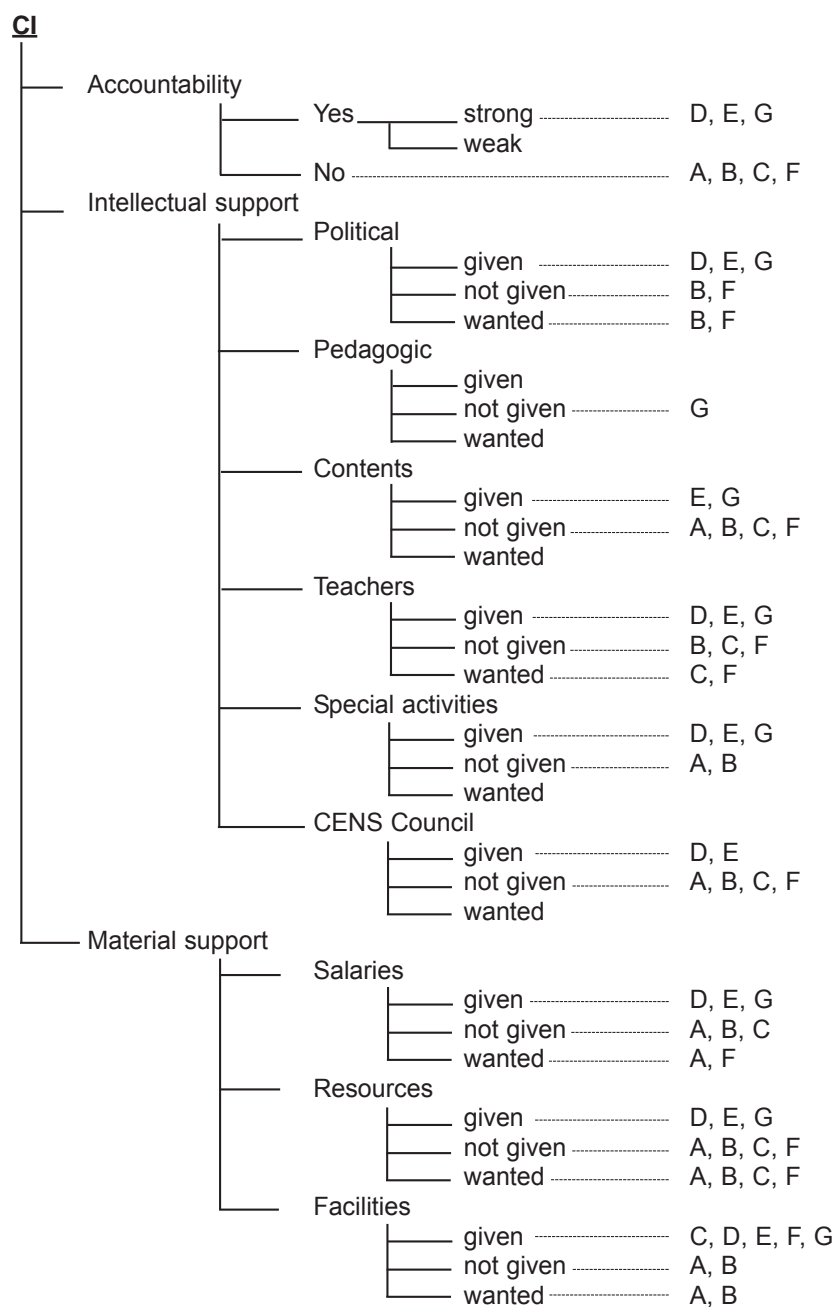
Heads were asked about their relation with the CI. As a result of the analysis that we will develop below we obtained two groups of CENS: those that have a strong relation with the CI (D, E, and G) and those that have a weak relation with the CI (A, B, C and F).

The network below summarises the general responses from the heads on the relation with the CI where we can find that CENS of each group behave quite similarly. First of all those directors with a strong relation with the CI (CI+) feel strongly responsible towards the CI and the CI gives them support, both intellectual and material. These three directors stated that for them it is very important to have the “political support” from the CI and that gives them a plus of legitimacy. The other group with a weak relation with the CI (CI-) does not feel that they have to be accountable to the CI but they would like the CI gives them some resources, particularly material, and two of them (B and F) would like to have some political support.

When heads were asked whether they are satisfied with the relation they have with the CI and if they would change something, all of them said that they were happy with the present relation. However the CI- heads said they would like the CI to be more supportive with their job. When they responded to the question about any influence of the CI over transmission the responses reproduced the two groups: CI+ said that there is influence and it should be; CI- responded that there is no influence and it should not be any.

Network 6.1:

CENS relation with the CI (Heads)

EXTERNAL RELATION WITH CI

These findings were confirmed in the teachers' interview. Firstly we asked teachers if the CI had any effect on the teaching. Only teachers of three CENS answered that there was some influence: CENS D, E, G. For the interviewees this influence does not interrupt the "independence" of the school, as it is the director who is responsible for the educational process. There is a different strength of influence of the CI on each CENS. In CENS E (army veterans' civil association) we found the weakest impact, teachers of this CENS reported that the CI intervened only on formal agreements with the State and on the general political orientation. For the teachers of CENS D (union) the CI supported the school by supplying resources, with respect to building, computers, books and it appointed some teachers with the agreement of the director. In this CENS D teachers recognise the influence of the CI in the school but they say that the union does not "interfere" with the teaching. It is interesting that only one of the teachers of CENS D (a former director of the CENS) gave importance to the fact that the director himself is a unionist and was appointed by the political committee of the union (she left the post after a political change of the central committee of the union). Finally in CENS G we found the strongest influence of the CI. All the interviewed teachers of this CENS said "this is a union CENS therefore the CI affects our work". But they maintained that the CI gave the director the freedom he needs to run the school. They reinforced this independence by saying that the union respected the director as a professional and it was confirmed when the central committee of the union changed the director was asked to remain in his position.

The results we reported above are confirmed by the data we obtained from the question: "Do you have any contact or relation with the CI?" All the interviewees from CENS A (union), B (union), C (State employer) and F (bishopric) answered they did not have any contact with the CI. On the other hand teachers from the other three CENS reported having contact with the CI but in different degrees and with different types of relation with the CI. CENS E teachers gave different answers: one said that she works for the CI (as accountant), another said that she sees CI personnel in meetings, memorials and formal celebrations and the third reported that she did not have any relation only that she knows some people of the CI, but she has contact with the students who belong to the association. In CENS D two of the three interviewees work for the union and the other is the former directress of the school and she knows "the people of the union very well".

However for these teachers of CENS D the director is responsible for the relation with the CI. In CENS G two teachers are unionist and the other interviewee works in the training department of the union. All of them have permanent contacts with the CI in different forms.

Those teachers who responded that they do not have any contact with the CI were asked if they would like to have some relation with the CI. Four out of the ten teachers who do not have any relation with the CI said that they do not see the point of a relation, as they are general subject area teachers. The rest of the teachers answered that the only reason for a relation with the CI was to obtain more resources for the school. Those teachers who answered they have a relation with the CI were asked if they were satisfied with that relation. Teachers of the three CENS said that they were satisfied however they would like to receive more economic support from the CI. Only one teacher, from CENS E (civil association), answered that she did not want to have a stronger relation with the CI.

The last question of the series concerning the relation with the CI was: "Do you think the CI has any influence on the students' formation?". The distribution of responses to this question repeats the distribution between the two groups of CENS we saw previously. Teachers from CENS A, B, C and F (CI-) answered that there was no influence and they added that they considered that there should not be any influence. In contrast teachers from CENS D, E and G (CI+) gave different emphases on this issue of influence. In CENS E (civil association) each teacher gave a different answer: one said that the CI should have more influence, other said that the CI had too much influence because the CI's politics intruded in the school and the third teacher (a mathematics teacher) said that there was not any influence. The three interviewed teachers of CENS D said that the influence was little. They reported that they did not have any problem with the CI with their teaching. In CENS G the teachers answered that the school is a union CENS, with teachers who are unionists and so there is a major agreement with the union and the influence is explicit and clear. These teachers of CENS G added that the CI never imposed on the school. Thus CENS D and G have a high level of consensus and fundamental agreements with the CI. The consensus is weaker in the case of CENS E and strongest in CENS G.

We reported in chapter 3 that only three CI representatives responded the interview: CENS E, F and G. Firstly we must say that these three interviews confirm the

general findings we obtained from heads and teachers in terms of the strength of the CENS – CI relation.

The CENS F CI representative said that even “the CENS was an important project of the bishopric in order to have a school for poor people without secondary certificate who wanted to become priest, now it is not in the centre of our concern. However we know we should pay more attention to that school.” On other segment of the interview he said that the bishopric “strongly supports the CENS and particularly its director.” However when we asked about some specific issues about the school the CI representative did not have much information.

In the cases of E and G both CI representatives had quite in depth information about the CENS they support and made very strong statement about the importance of the CENS for each CI.

CENS G CI representative (trade union) said about the CENS work “is for that 32% of our workers that do not have secondary school. The value I give to it is to work with this risk population, that 32%. So we try to make the companions to have at least a secondary certificate.” In another part of the interview talking about the cost / benefit for the union to have a CENS, “I can give you a political analysis, it is a very important thing. It is crucial for the people. I want the firms to be involved, not only in the cost. Given that we are training people for them. They were afraid that we were giving the certificates without quality, but we showed them that we have quality and very high. The cost, in terms of money, it is a big effort. But it is worth doing it.” Then we asked him specifically about the relation between the CI and the CENS, his response was that the relation “is very good, but we owe them to supply more money. We try but it is not easy. I am very happy with (G) the director and we also are very pleased of having our people teaching there.” With respect to the curriculum and syllabi G CI representative said that “the specialists from the union work together with the school in order to define contents and labs experience students must have.”

In the case of the CENS E CI representative (army veterans association) said “We are very involved in the CENS, we give importance to the CENS. We want to have spaces integrated to the community. We do not want to have special houses, special health cen-

tres, and special schools for veterans. So our point is to give a service to the community and to the veterans as part of the community.” When asked about their involvement on the curriculum or syllabi he replied that “This is a tool for community development and integration. Each CI, no matter which, tries to give an identity to the school. We have done a lot but we still have to work harder, specially in subjects like history, to give our view, and in the vocational subjects we want to be more involved for helping the students to get a job.” The response about the relation between the CENS and the CI was: “We have not much money but we offer political support. Ways to find and negotiate things, like the building, like help for the disabled people or whatever is needed. We have the tools to make pressure if it were necessary.”

As we reported previously we could not have any contact with the other four CI representatives in order to have their point of view.

6.2.3 External relation with other institutions

The responses given by heads and teachers over external relations with other institutions, such as further educational institutions, firms, etc. was highly consistent by CENS and followed the two groups of CENS (CI+ and CI-) we have showed above. For those CI- CENS there is no connection with other organizations.

Now we would like to quote a statement about the CENS relations with other organizations that summarise an opinion we repeatedly found in the teachers’ answers from the CI- CENS: “It would be good to have information about what organizations such as firms expect from CENS however I think that they should not interfere in the life of the school, nor having any kind of power over the way the school is run. CENS should remain independent.” We found this kind of statement in both general and specialisation teachers. Teachers seem to worry about possible interference in the school life by external forces, particularly from firms which may ask for specific training.

The CI+ CENS have some differences in the degree of external connection. CENS G is the one with the stronger external relation with firms and further educational institutions with the same curriculum orientation (telecommunications). They make visits to firms and use labs from two of the most important firms on the telecommunication field. They

also have a strong relation with further education institutions with which they exchange information of contents and upgrades, as well as about students who continue their education in those institutions. CENS D follows in the degree of external connection. They have relations with firms and firms associations related to their area of knowledge (computing) from whom they get information on the market and the CI has a further education institution that work together with the CENS. Finally, CENS E within this group has the lowest degree of exchange, they have relations with further education institutions on the administrative area and would like some relations with firms but they do not have them.

In reference to the possible interference of external organizations we found that in the responses of the CI+ CENS there is a sort of confidence in the CI to stop any excessive intromission and particularly teachers are confident in their directors to manage the relations in a way that do not make the school, as one teacher said, “a direct non reflexive supplier of firms.”

6.2.4 Summary of external relations

Three external institutional relations were reported in this section: towards State, CI and other organizations. We can summarise the reported data in this section in two main findings: a) there is a very weak external control over the CENS from the Department of Adult Education (DEAyA); and b) we found two groups of CENS with respect to their relation with the CI, one with weak relation to the CI (CI-), composed by CENS A, B, C and F; and another group with a strong relation with the CI (CI+), composed by CENS D, E and G. Within this last group the strength of the relation with the CI is not homogenous.

As we have reported the main relation of the sampled schools with the DEAyA is administrative, just in terms of “bureaucratic exchange of papers” and statistical data. Only three directors (A, C and F) said that they feel some but weak responsibility towards the DEAyA with respect to academic achievement or their own work as directors. The other four heads (B, D, E and G) feel no responsibility at all towards the DEAyA. Heads also stated that they do not feel being controlled by the State and they think that the freedom they hold is not only appropriate but also necessary to run a school.

With respect to inspectors all heads agreed that their role is just bureaucratic, with no influence in any pedagogic matter. No external State control over teachers was found. But 9 teachers said they would like inspectors to link with other CENS because they feel extremely isolated from the rest of the CENS and regarded the schools as islands in the system of adult education.

Although CIs have to supply the infrastructure for CENS functioning and any other material resources, four heads reported receiving material resources from the State, because the CI does not give enough (C and F) or does not give any (A and B). In the case of CENS A and B the CI neither supply the space for the school, therefore they work at the evening in a school that depends from the State.

From the data reported above plus what we have already analysed in the chapter 5, we can say that there is not direct control from the State. The regulation from the State could be located in the general regulation of teaching, in the official syllabus, in the official certification for teachers, issues related to pedagogic discourse.

As we said before a clear two-group categorisation came out in reference to CENS external relation with the CI. Those which have a strong relation with the CI (D, E, and G) have political, intellectual and material support from the CI and feel accountable towards CI. Those which have a weak relation with the CI (A, B, C and F) do not have support and do not feel to be accountable to CI, but they would like the CI to give them some resources, particularly material, and two of them (B and F) would like to have some political support.

However the differences between the two groups taking both teachers and heads responses all of them said that they were happy with the present relation. Nevertheless the CI- CENS heads said they would like the CI to be more supportive with their job. When heads responded to the question about any influence of the CI over transmission the responses reproduced the two groups: CI+ said that there is influence and it should be, CI- responded that there is no influence and it should not be any.

These findings were confirmed from teachers' interviews perspectives. Only teachers of three CENS answered that there was some influence: CENS D, E, and G. For teachers of the CI- CENS no other relations than supply of resources with CI should CENS have. Also query on CI influence on students' education gave the same distribution of responses.

Within the CI+ group differences were found in the degree of the external relation. CENS G has the strongest relation with the CI, followed by CENS D, and finally CENS E has the lesser strong relation with the CI, from this group of strong relation with the counterpart institution. We obtained this data particularly from the influence CI has over transmission, the level of consensus among staff about the relation with the CI and the support by the CI to the CENS.

Finally we reported about external relations with other institutions such as further educational institutions, firms, etc. The results were highly consistent by CENS and followed the two groups of CENS (CI+ and CI-) we have commented before. Also with this respect we found differences in the degree of external connection within the CI+ CENS. CENS G is the one with the stronger external relation, followed by CENS D, and CENS E has the lowest degree of exchange with other organizations.

6.3 Internal institutional relations

In this section we focus on social relations and classificatory principles but it should be said that what we shall report here is directly connected with discourse classification and issues on pedagogic practice treated in the previous chapter on transmission. This connection will be treated in the final discussion in this chapter.

We analytically differentiated the social relations at the school level related to social order from the social relations related to transmission, as constraints on teaching and forms of control of pedagogic practice in order to present them and for the construction of our research strategy but for analysis purposes and for the final description we shall must to put them together.

6.3.1 Classificatory principles

Classificatory principles will give us an idea of the general criteria that organize the social relations of the school. And it will complete the picture on social order we started in the previous chapter when we described central issues on classification.

Classificatory principles of teachers

A good start to understand the basic classificatory principles of CENS teachers might be the point of view of the students. They were asked to define what a good teacher in the CENS is. We grouped the answers in five categories⁷⁷; the general results are as follows:

Table 6.1: Students' categorization of "good teacher" by gender

	Female	Male	Total
Transmission centred	7	18	25
Acquisition centred	46	39	85
Evaluation centred	2	2	4
Knowledge centred	1	7	8
Social relation centred	1	-	1
D/K	2	7	9
Total	59	73	132

The students' definitions of a good teacher are directly connected with their own learning. A good teacher respects students' pacing needs, that who explains as many times as students need, who gives clear explanations. It is not a teacher who has "a good relation" with the students. We would like to stress the fact that there were no important differences between CENS. The large majority of female students responses fell in the

⁷⁷**1. Transmission centred:** Pedagogy (who gives clear explanations, who use charts to teach, a real teacher who knows how to teach)

2. Acquisition centred: interested whether we learn or not; Who explains as many times as necessary + social relation; Who listens/ understands students' situation; Who listens/ understands students' situation + pedagogy; Who understands students as adults + pedagogy; Who respects the students' timing for learning

3. Evaluation centred: Who gives good marks; Who gives more opportunities to be re-assessed

4. Knowledge centred: Knowledge + pedagogy; Who gives useful knowledge

5. Social relation centred: good communication with the students, personal empathy.

category 'Acquisition' but male students gave the majority of responses for 'Transmission' and 'Knowledge' (very few all over).

From the point of view of the heads we consider their responses to a direct question of the classification of teachers as well as a question about the criteria heads have or would have for selecting teachers.

All the directors stated that a fundamental criterion is that teachers must have experience working with adult people, which means that they know about the rhythm and characteristics of adult learning and adult external context for studying (referring to work and familial contexts). All of them agreed saying that they select, or would select, only those teachers who they know personally or through some other one who is reliable for the director. Connected with this, directors expect commitment not only with the school but loyalty to the director her/himself. Despite these common elements we found some differences amongst directors' criteria. CENS C and F stated that issues like attendance, punctuality, and respect for rules are, as CENS C said, "crucial features of a teacher to work in this CENS". CENS E, D and G directors preferred teachers with university degrees or, in the case of the specialisation areas, people who are currently professionally working in a field linked to the specialization area.

The above is confirmed when the question about criteria of classification of teachers is analyzed. Elements such as loyalty to the head, commitment to the school and knowing how to work with adults were raised in all heads responses. However, different groupings of directors appear when considering other criteria they used. A group of four directors (A, B, C, F) talked about more or less demanding teachers as a key criterion. But "demanding" does not receive the same rate. For A a very demanding teacher is not a good teacher however for B it is a good mark. In this sense C and F matched too on their opinion about what they call "paternalist" or "demagogue" kind of teacher who "gives marks as presents in order not to have trouble with students' complaints". E and G share the idea of being "innovative" and "flexible to create" talks about good teachers. Finally four out of the seven interviewees (B, D, E, G) considered knowledge about the subject as another criterion, but as we stated before they still give different emphasis.

For the teachers, internal groupings amongst the staff are based on two distinctive criteria: personal relation with the head and the attachment to the subject area (general or specialized). Even more, these two criteria operate in a stronger way when both work together, that is, for example, that the head is general area teacher and his/her “friends” also belong to the same area.

As another way for getting classificatory principles of the teachers, in the interview we asked them about their motives for working in a CENS. Seventeen out of the nineteen interviewees answered that they preferred to work with adults rather than with teenagers because working with adults there are no disciplinary problems and because adults are motivated to study which does not seem to be the case with teenagers. Only two teachers said that they worked in CENS only because they needed the money and as the CENS works at night they can have more teaching hours. Five interviewees added to their answers that they work in CENS because of ideological and political positions related to the transmission of knowledge to workers, to people who have been marginalised by the educational system. This last finding is of some importance for two reasons: because contrary to our preliminary expectations few teachers gave answers entailing a political position. We expected more answers of such a type because historically adult education in Latin America is linked to left wing groups. Further the five teachers who gave a political response belonged to three CENS that we categorised as CENS with a strong relation with their CI: D, E and G.

There is consistency between heads and students responses about a principle which arranges teachers in those who “know how to work with adults” and those who do not, a criterion which is mainly related to pace. On the other hand, from the point of view of heads and teachers, loyalty to the head is crucial as we will confirm later when we present the results on relationships. It has to be stressed that tensions between general and specialization subject teachers, which we have already reported in the previous chapter, were raised again here.

A previously reported finding must be considered as the context for these data on teachers’ classification, which is the informality of the appointment procedure and

that 72% of the contacted teachers (67) were internally appointed (following the categorization we made in chapter 5). It should also be recalled that in CENS D, E, G more than the 90% of the teachers were internally appointed, whereas in the other four CENS around half of the teachers were internally appointed. So loyalty and commitment to the head can be achieved because of the room for discretion that heads may utilize to select teachers.

Classificatory principles of students

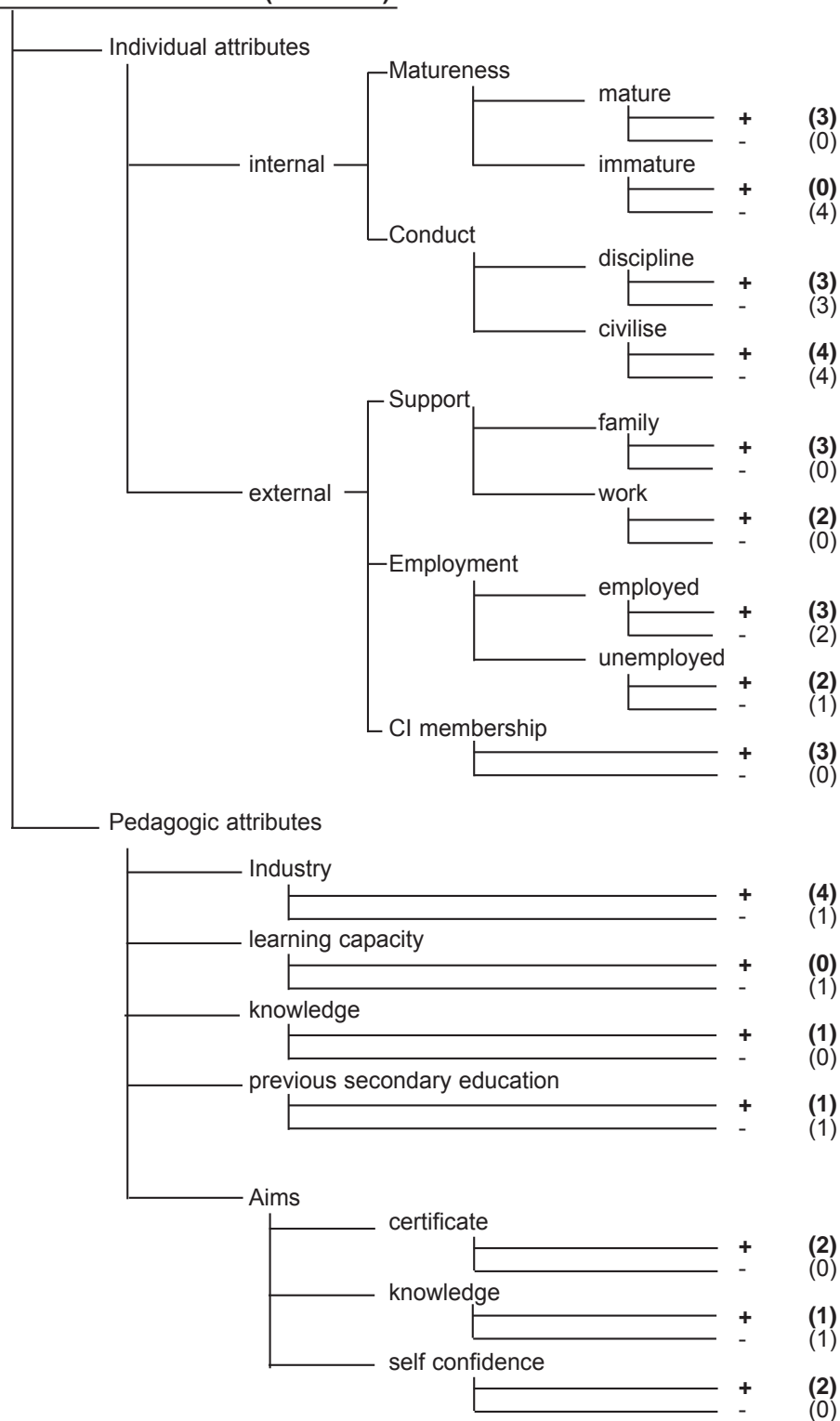
This section will inform about the results of different approaches we designed in order to get classificatory principles of students in CENS. In addition to the data directly linked to students' category formation, results on intake procedures and dropout are reported.

Firstly we shall present directors characterisation of their CENS students, as a way of having a general picture of these students. We coded heads' responses in the network 6.2 we present below.

As we can see the sub-network **Individual attributes** received 32 entries whereas **Pedagogic attributes** received less than a half, 15 entries. The category Individual attributes/ internal had 21 entries, Individual attributes/ external received 11 entries. We must look at the distribution of responses by director because those figures may mislead our understanding of the results.

Network 6.2:

Classification of students (Heads' criteria)

CLASSIFICATION OF STUDENTS (CRITERIA)

In the sub-network **Individual attributes**, all the responses coded in internal (21 entries) were given by four directors: A, B, C and F. In the subcategory conduct the directors who gave as a positive feature 'discipline' or 'civilise' were the same that answered that lacking any of those categories is a negative feature of students. In the category external we find a particular distribution of responses. Only three directors (A, B and F) gave responses that were coded under support. In employment three directors (D, E and G) responded that it is a positive feature that students were employed whereas two directors (A and F) gave a negative value to this option, 'employed', and gave a positive value to the option 'unemployed'. The argument these two directors gave was that unemployed students have less trouble in carrying out their studies. In CI membership we find again CENS D, E and G answering in the same way. These three directors sustained that it is important to their CENS to have CI students because it is their main target population and it gives to the CENS a clear identity.

In the sub-network **Pedagogic attributes** (15 entries) we found that four directors gave responses coded in industry (A, B, C and F), on the other hand the entries for learning capacity, knowledge and previous education were given by CENS G director. With respect to aims CENS D and E directors answered 'certificate' and 'knowledge', whereas 'self confidence' received entries from directors B and F.

It seems that some directors (A, B, C and F) focused their own classification of their students in students' personal features such as maturity or conduct whereas other directors (D, E and G) focused on students working status (employment) and their membership to the CI. We may say that the first group of directors focused on inner /personal features of the students whereas the second group focused in contextual / positional.

In the same strand of inquiry and with the aim of obtaining classification criteria for the students, all the contacted members of the schools (heads, teachers and students) were asked about the characteristics of students who do well and about those who do not do so well in CENS. We will first present the responses from heads, then teachers and finally students.

All the directors agreed that 'effort' and 'attendance' are constants amongst the so called "good students". Directors identified that a 'systematic work' allows students to "follow" the rhythm of the transmission. However three directors (D, E, G) added other kind of characteristics. These three directors emphasised that "an everyday contact to reading and books" and a "true interest" on the curriculum orientation helps students to succeed at CENS. CENS D and G directors completed their responses saying that they consider students may be good in some subjects and not so good in other, this entails the idea that "there are not good students for everything and bad students for every subject, each one has some strength", as G said.

When directors were questioned about "bad students" all the responses were focused on rather instructional aspects of students biography. They connected a low performance at CENS with a long time distance students' previous schooling. At the same time, all the heads agreed that the effort students make, or do not, is associated to their motivation to finish their studies: "If they do not really want or see the importance of finishing their secondary school, they cannot go on the work here at school." It is significant that heads A, B, C and F who focused on regulative components when referring to "good students", when questioned about "bad students" added issues related to "learning problems". They referred to "intellectual abilities" as an obstacle for studying. On the contrary D, E and G directors asserted "those students who have some learning difficulty can compensate it with effort."

In the case of heads interview we also asked about "difficult students" or "difficult situations" with students. In CENS A and C we found very similar cases of "difficult students". In both cases directors referred to a case of a "drug user" who "disturbs the class not respecting our rules. A bloke without limits, he used to put his feet on the desk or read the newspaper in the classroom, insulting teachers if he did not like them, a rough bloke..." In both CENS the student finally "left" the school. The response of B was similar but she said that they do not have this kind of students any more, "we dealt with it and now we don't have those students" (see teachers from CENS B responses below). Both B and F heads referred to "struggle" with students about students union, which they do not allow. The director of CENS E described a critical situation with a husband of a student who did not want her to continue the course and the director intervened.

CENS D and G reported having a similar situation, students complained about some teachers “who did not do their job, they actually were not teaching”. The problem, from the directors’ point of view, was that students were “too direct with teachers, a bit rude but it was not serious.” Both directors stated that they do not consider that as a really “difficult situation” with students.

The teachers’ responses to the question “What kind of students does well in this school?” are quite homogeneous. The majority of the teachers responded as follows: “those students who make an effort and who are constant attendees”, “who come to school every day”, “who study”, “who pay attention in class”. These statements, or equivalent, were the basis of most of the answers. Very few teachers added other considerations and only three teachers did not mention any of these aspects.

Only four teachers included in their answers any consideration about the students’ educational background. For these four teachers students’ good educational background, related to previous secondary education, is the feature that identified good students in the CENS. This educational factor, in the view of the great majority of the teachers, does not operate in isolation from other factors. Students with good educational background also need to be constant attendees and make an effort otherwise they will not achieve good results; “it is not just a matter of background”.

Teachers from CENS G gave different answers from the rest of the teachers. They said that it was crucial for the students to be specifically interested in the curriculum orientation of the CENS. For them it was very important to have a good level of reading and writing and to have either experience in jobs close to the curriculum orientation or a good secondary school background.

We asked teachers two questions related to those so called ‘bad students’. The first question was “What kind of students does not do so well in the CENS?”, the second was “How do you recognise a bad student?” The answers to the first question were quite homogeneous. Most of the answers referred to students who are uncivilised (bad manners, lack of respect to authority), who have a “bad attitude” towards their companions, the teachers and the school (“they do not care about this, they slouch in the chairs, they disturb other

students during the class”). The other element teachers pointed out referred to age (we should remember that age was not mentioned in the responses to the previous question about students who do well). Teachers mentioned that young students do not do very well. However this consideration was combined with other adjectives such as “undisciplined”, “rough”, “cheap”. We consider that age is combined with other features and refers to a specific kind of young uneducated marginal students; it is not only a matter of “being young”.

Teachers recognise a ‘bad student’ when students are “lazy”, or when “they are not interested in being in school”, “they do not concentrate in the class and keep disturbing others”. These considerations are directly connected to similar features mentioned to the question about what kind of students do not do well: young, rough, marginal, bad manners, without respect to authority.

Four teachers answered that they think there are not bad students as such. Three of these four teachers belong to CENS G and they said that it is impossible to assert that someone is a “bad student” in general terms. For these teachers one student may not be interested in their subject so s/he is not “good” in that subject but each student may be good in different knowledge areas.

Aspects teachers did not take into account to describe ‘good’ and ‘bad’ students may be of some importance. There is no reference to gender neither to intellectual capacities. With respect to the absence of references to intellectual capacities six teachers said that it is not an important feature because it is the effort that counts and it can compensate for any disadvantage a student may have.

The majority of teachers answered the questions about “who does well” and “who does not do well” upon criteria related to students’ attributes that we will call **discipline attributes**. In the case of the responses to the question who “does well” the main criterion was discipline (effort, attention in class, constant work, attendance, study). We may categorise this criterion as **pedagogic discipline**. This pedagogic discipline refers to behaviour students should be able to realize in the school; it is basic school behaviour. It is obvious that this behaviour is positively valued in other sites than the school (i.e. being constant in a job); however in teachers’ speech it is directly connected to the school. In the case of the re-

sponses to the question about how teachers recognise ‘bad students’ the criterion here was also discipline, but used in social terms, in a rather moralising sense (undisciplined, no respect to authority, disturbing, without manners, immature, rough, cheaters) with an emphasis upon age (teenagers). We may categorise this criterion as **social discipline**.

The question to the students about description of a good student at CENS was an open one and we categorised the answers in five groups⁷⁸. The general results are as follows:

Table 6.2: Students’ categorization of “good student” by gender

	Female	Male	Total	Percentage
Industrious	9	11	20	15.2%
Social relationship (moral)	8	18	26	19.7%
Study	22	22	44	33.3%
Personal	3	5	8	6%
Study + industrious	14	14	28	21.2%
D/K	3	3	6	4.6%
Total	59	73	132	100%

If we group those categories that are related to an explicit need for time, ‘Industrious’ and ‘Study’, we find that 70% of the responses are concentrated in this group. Lack of time was also the main reason students recognise for those who did not finish the course as we have seen above.

There is a clear influence of gender in the answers for the category ‘Social relationship’ where 18 out of the 27 students who answered this category are male. For the rest of the categories there is no significant variation. We can say that relatively speaking the

⁷⁸**1. Industrious:** Attend; Effort.

2. Social relationship (moral): Help classmates to understand; Worry about classmates and CENS; Solidarity; One who respects the others.

3. Study: One who studies; Who spends more time studying.

4. Personal: who understands what he/she reads; naturally intelligent; who understands from the beginning.

5. Study + industrious: Study + effort; Study + attend.

female students gave more answers in the categories “study” and “study+industrious” because there is the same number of answers from female and male students, 22 students and 14 respectively (the females students are 59 and the male students are 73).

For the category ‘Study’ employed students answered six times more in this category than the unemployed (36 against 6 students). Within the employed students with low positions 24 out of 59 answered ‘Industrious’ as the mark of a good student.

Four CENS (A, B, C and F) had the majority of answers concentrated in the category ‘Social relationship (moral)’. These four CENS together have 23 out of the 26 responses of this category. The other three CENS (D, E, G) have only one student each answering in this category.

Table 6.3: Students’ categorization of “good student” by CENS

	CENS A	CENS B	CENS C	CENS D	CENS E	CENS F	CENS G	Total
Industrious	5	4	1	-	2	4	4	20
Social relationship	7	6	5	1	1	5	1	26
Study	6	9	2	4	9	5	9	44
Personal	-	1	1	-	2	2	2	8
Study + industrious	-	10	5	4	4	4	1	28
D/K	1	-	-	2	1	1	1	6
Total	19	30	14	11	19	21	18	132

Students’ selection: intake and dropout

As a way to access to more information and to complete a picture of the construction of principles of classification within CENS we have inquired about how these schools “select” their members. We will be looking at intake procedures particularly of students (as teachers’ intake was already portrayed), the function of the Diagnosis Workshop and a characterization of students’ dropout.

The type of schools we are studying are public schools (in the sense that they do not belong to a private owner), in which there is not a formal and legal selection procedure for students. As we have said in chapter 4, CENS must accept any student older than 18 years who has a primary education certificate. However, according to the regulations there are two types of CENS: open and closed. The 'open' CENS are those that have to accept anyone. The 'closed' CENS are those that have the permit (by the Secretary of Education) to give priority to adults who are part of the CI or relatives of CI members, but without any other restriction.

This process of selection does not necessarily give rise to explicit selection procedures or strategies. We consider that this selection process includes firstly the process of students' intake, which operates as a first "filter" to the CENS. We shall see how "closed" or "open" is this first filter, what criteria are operating and how explicit it is from teachers' point of view. Secondly, students' dropout works as an "invisible" selection process retaining in the CENS those who are more likely to succeed in the course. From the directors' interviews and statistical information⁷⁹ we know that an average of 30% of those who start the course leave the school during the first month of the course and after this stage the rates of dropping out are very low or nil. This is an 'invisible' process of selection because the school does not explicitly reject students. We shall look to the labelling of those who leave the school, whether these students have common features and if so their characteristics. Finally there is the Diagnosis Workshop, which should be operating in the first weeks of the course. This activity is supposed to be an introduction to the course in which students learn how the CENS works, get to know each other and where teachers may collect information about the academic level of the students. We shall look at the function of the workshop and what teachers think about it.

In this sense we shall be looking at the ways these schools select its students and it will add data on the process of categories definition and construction. Also it will produce information that will be analysed in the next chapter in reference to the pedagogic identity construction.

⁷⁹ Secretaría de Educación CABA (1999, 2003)

From the data we obtained from the Secretary of Education and directors interviews we produced a first two-group categorisation, considering the formal situation of each CENS with respect to students' intake:

- 'open' CENS: A, B and F
- 'closed' CENS: C, D, E, G

When we analysed responses from both teachers and heads some variations were found. Only teachers from CENS A (CI union) said that there was no selection of students: "we accept everybody", we have got the same response from the head. In five CENS, C (CI State), D (CI union), E (CI civil association), F (CI church) and G (CI union), teachers responded that there was some selection. This selection, assumes different forms in each CENS and it is based upon criteria related to the type of CI associated with the CENS.

Two union CENS (D and G) give priority to the workers who belong to the union, however they also accept people who do not belong to the union. CENS E (civil association) had a similar policy and gave priority to those who belong to the association (army veterans and their relatives) next disabled people and finally civil servants⁸⁰. CENS C (State employer) accepted only students who are civil servants who are previously selected by the CI. CENS F incorporated all kind of people but only male students which was a condition of the CI (catholic bishopric) because originally the CENS was created as a route to the priest seminar, and currently only because the school functions in the premises of the priest seminar where females are not allowed (this explains the difference with the information we firstly had from the Secretary of Education and the first director response).

Only three teachers disagreed with the process of students' selection in their CENS. Two of these teachers gave similar responses in the sense of opening the CENS to individuals who do not belong to the CI. The case of CENS B (CI union) is of some interest because even when teachers recognise that it is an "open" CENS which accepts all

⁸⁰ The incorporation of civil servants is related to the fact that the CENS works in a building that belongs to the National State.

kinds of people, one teacher said that students are asked to pay a compulsory initial fee (what is explicitly forbidden by the CENS regulations) which functions as a filter. This fee (the equivalent of 20 Euros) “cleans” (in the teacher’s terms) the CENS of marginal and very poor students who cannot afford to pay. This interviewee said that this was a way to avoid “rough students who came with knives, drunk or drugged”. Although this teacher disagreed with this “procedure” but she admitted that it is easier to work in the school without “that kind of student”. When the head was questioned about this initial fee, she said that they “ask who can pay to pay it, if they cannot they are also accepted, because it is not compulsory”.

It seems to be clear that the majority of the CENS (except CENS A and B, both union CIs) have a strong selection filter which is directly connected with their CI. This criterion works irrespectively of the type of CI and the curriculum orientation of the CENS. Furthermore this filter seems to operate despite the kind of relation the CENS has with the CI (see our classification of strong and weak relation developed in the external relationships section). Nevertheless the two CENS (A and B) that are different have a common feature: both have a weak relation to the CI.

Now turning to the Diagnosis Workshop, all directors responded that they do it. However teachers from CENS C and F either say there is not any or that they do not know about it. In both cases we looked for additional information and in both cases what happened was that instead of making a two weeks work, directors made a general approach to the students in the first day of class, and they call it Diagnosis Workshop.

The seven interviewed directors answered they are satisfied with the diagnosis workshop. All of them said that the workshop is used for knowing the level of knowledge that first year students have and for “giving confidence” to the students in order “to cope the challenge of re-starting their studies”.

CENS D, E and G directors said that they use the workshop to level the students’ knowledge background through teaching basic concepts and abilities (arithmetic, comprehensive reading and writing). Directors of CENS A, B, C and F answered that the main function is to “facilitate the integration of the members of the class”, which they

consider as a very important function because “the group take care (contains) the anxiety of the students”. CENS A and B directors added that the workshop gives students an idea of the ‘pedagogic discipline’ they should have in order to succeed in their studies. Finally directors from CENS D, E and G said that they use the workshop in order to make explicit the rules of the CENS such as timetables, assessment procedures, how to get tutorials, etc. D and E also gave the workshop a social integration function.

All the directors informed that their CENS have some dropout. This was confirmed by the statistical data we collected from the schools. Six out of the seven CENS have a rate around 30%. Only CENS A has around 70% of the students who leave the school before finishing the course. According with directors the major dropout happens during the first month and after winter holydays of the first year. However some directors and teachers stated that if they had to identify one single moment when the dropout happened, this was after the first set of assessments, usually before the winter holydays.

We asked directors what are the reasons or causes they identified for the dropout. All the heads agreed in saying that “contextual problems” (economic situation, familial troubles) are the main source of the dropout. Heads also said that the lack of support by the family, peers or at work might push students to leave the school. A director said: “Any adult who has no support from his/her context sooner or later will abandon the CENS.”

Four directors gave responses related to the social and moral characteristics of the students: CENS A, B, C and F gave responses such as “rough students”, “undisciplined students”. The other group of heads did not give any response in that sense.

The analysis of teachers’ responses about dropout was done by constructing a network. The majority of the responses are concentrated within the subnetwork **students** (60 out of the 65 entries of the network). Only five responses were within the subnetwork **CENS**, three in *criteria* and two in *transmission*.

Within the sub-network **students** the responses are almost equally distributed between **attributes** (32 entries) and **context** (28 entries). The options with the highest number of responses are the following:

- 12- students/attributes/pedagogic/industry
- 12- students/context/external problems/economic situation
- 8- students/context/external problems/familial problems
- 8- students/context/lack of support/family

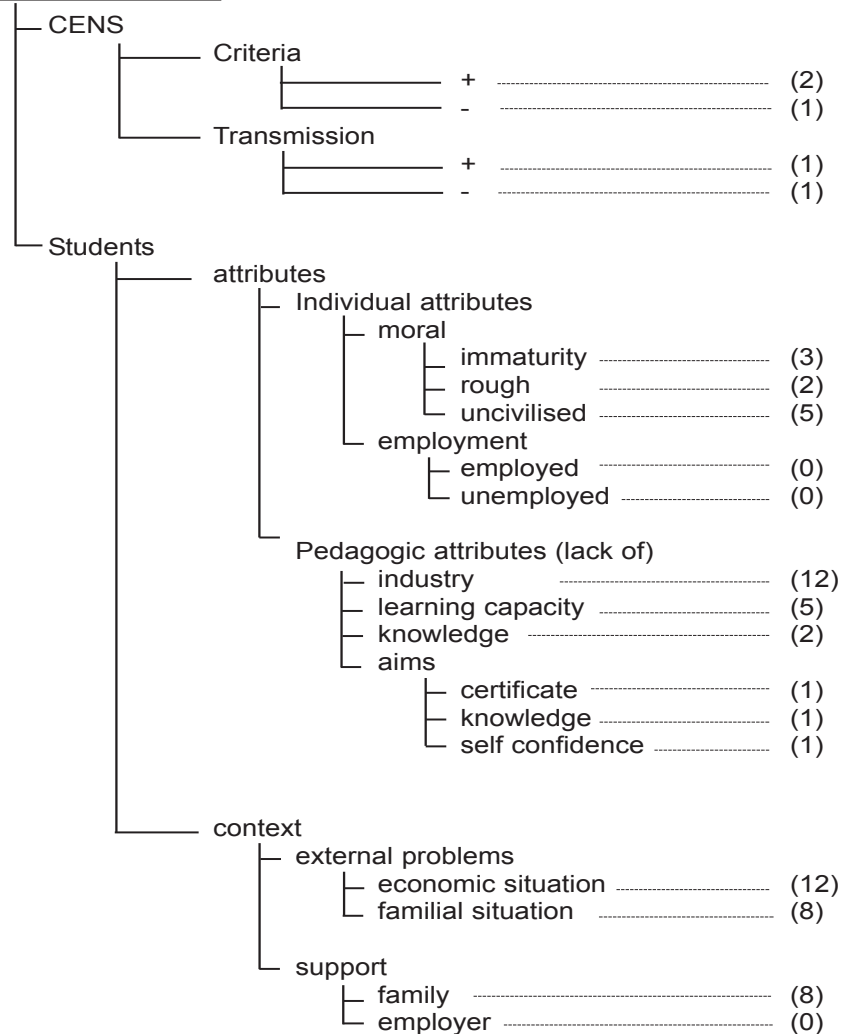
We should note that three out of the four options shown above are within the category context (28 entries). The emphasis is placed less on individual attributes of the students with only 10 entries but upon the pedagogic attributes of the students with 22 entries, 12 of which refer to 'industry' (lack of). Within context dropout is less a function of 'support' (lack of) (eight entries) but essentially a function of 'economic' or 'familial' problems (20 entries). Although there is less emphasis within individual attributes, it is important to note that 10 entries refer to some moral lack in the students (immaturity, uncivilised and rough) and equally important is that nine teachers out of the total of 19 gave those 10 responses. Thus almost half of the teachers considered that dropout was due to some moral deviance of the students. These nine teachers belong to four CENS (A, B, C, F)

When we considered the distribution by subject-area we find that specialisation teachers gave more responses within the subcategory pedagogic attributes (12 entries) than to individual attributes (2 entries) whereas the general teachers had the same number of entries in both subcategories. Again we find that relatively general teachers are more sensitive to personal attributes of the students.

It is important to note that, in general, teachers referred to contextual problems to characterise those students who dropped out but not when they described good/bad students. In general the emphasis here is on pedagogic attributes rather than individual attributes of the students. In short those who leave CENS are those individuals with a difficult context, particularly in economic terms, and those who lack pedagogic attributes, especially industry.

Network 6.3:

Dropout sources

DROPOUT SOURCE

To complete the picture of teachers view on dropout we asked teachers what could be done to reduce the dropout figures. 16 out of the 19 teachers gave answers, which were coded as 'personal support'. Other responses were given by three teachers (concerning evaluation, diagnosis workshop and individual features of the students) without any significant distribution. Thus, from teachers 'support' becomes the main strategy to retain students. However we believe that this strategy is quite difficult because of the number of students that start the course every year, an average of 50 students per class.

In the responses to this question about what can be done to retain students no teacher referred to the contextual problems of the students, which they referred to in the previous question about why students dropout. Clearly teachers cannot change the students' economic and familial situation. The implication could be that CENS are mainly biased to young educated individuals without family ties, considering that 43% of the contacted students are between 18-24 years old and almost 80% is under 34 years old.

The strategy 'support' may lead us to think that those students who do not drop out are those students who have or are able to achieve appropriate conduct as a consequence of receiving special attention from the teachers, i.e. helping these students to adjust to the CENS life. We are inclined to believe that teachers are not thinking here of students who are socially undisciplined. If this is correct, the results we obtained in the network "dropout" would be reinforced in the sense that students' pedagogic attributes (pedagogic discipline in particular) are the object of any strategy to retain students. This seems plausible if we take into account that one of the reasons for dropping out with the highest number of teachers' responses was "lack of industry".

Also heads were asked what CENS do in order to try to retain students. Directors of CENS A, B, D and E answered that the diagnosis workshop is a tool to reduce the dropout. In CENS A, B, C, D and F directors reported they "follow" the cases of students who are "in the thin limit of staying or leaving the school". This 'support' is an individual control over students trying to talk with them, phoning them if students are not attending for some time. It is done by the director, some teachers "who have a good empathy with students" or even by other students. As we reported before, in CENS A and B all the students pass the first set of exams because it is a guideline of the directors. Only the director of G answered that he specifically selected the teachers for the first year, these teachers should have experience working with adult people.

It is very interesting to note the difference we find between teachers' reasons about dropout and students' reasons. Whereas teachers gave almost the same importance to students' attributes than they gave to students' context, in the students' questionnaire we found that 78% of the students answered that lack of time is the main reason for leaving the school (only 10% of the students answered "not enough effort" is a reason

for leaving the school). Students connected this lack of time to family problems or their work situation, which did not allow them sufficient time for the CENS. We would categorise those reasons as 'contextual' problems of the students. It is also interesting that there was no mention of 'employment status', which is a condition that clearly differentiates students in terms of time available to study or in terms of their social status.

Table 6.4: Students responses for reasons of dropping out

	Frequency	Percent
D/K	15	11.3
work (lack of time)	64	48.5
work + family problems	34	25.8
work problems + uninterested in the curriculum orientation	1	0.8
do not work hard	11	8.3
they are below the minimum standard required	2	1.5
they are young	1	0.8
work+too many subjects	3	2.3
teachers ask too much to workers like us	1	0.8
Total	132	100

We also asked students about punishments and rewards in order to complete the picture on classification criteria and its expression in terms of control. 73% of the students answered that there is no punishment in CENS. Only students from CENS B reported punishment for doing forbidden things (e.g. smoking inside the school), for having different ideas or for not attending. The form of punishment is a talk by the director. With respect to rewards 65% of the students said that the main reward they have is to finish the course. There is not a clear identification of a reward system among the students. This was confirmed in the interviews with the heads and teachers. From the data we can see that punishment and rewards systems are not strong, at least from the students' point of view. It may be that the motivation of the students to finish the course is very high and as a consequence there is no real need to reward their learning as in

other educational levels and with a different kind of student population. May be the weak reward system is again a function of internal selection. Those who need to be encouraged and specially helped and counselled are those who have already dropped out.

6.3.2 Summary on students' classificatory principles

Heads classificatory principles for students were categorised in two groups: one focused on inner personal characteristics (maturity, conduct) where we found heads A, B, C and F; the other group focused on context positional features of the students (working status, membership to CI); here we classified D, E and G.

Although all the heads agreed that “effort” and “attendance” are constants amongst the so called ‘good students’, three directors (D, E, and G) added rather instructional features. Heads A, B, C and F who focused on regulative components when referring to ‘good students’, when questioned about ‘bad students’ added issues related to ‘learning problems’. They referred to lack of ‘intellectual abilities’ as an obstacle for studying. D, E and G directors do not identified that as an obstacle, they believe that it is possible for students to overcome any learning problem.

With respect to conflict with students the group of D, E, and G heads did not identify important difficulties. While two different sources of conflicts were identified among the heads of the other four CENS. CENS A and C directors referred to personal issues of “difficult students” related to discipline. B and F heads referred to rather positional conflicts about the demand for a students union, which they did not allow.

As we said before teachers' responses were consistent with heads about those students who do well in CENS, in terms of regulative aspects related to industry, effort, attendance, and attention in class. Only teachers from CENS G gave different answers, which refer to students' interest on curriculum orientation of the CENS, which was also mentioned by the director. When teachers characterised bad students they referred to regulative features (i.e. uncivilised, “bad attitude”) and age. Age is combined with other features and refers to a specific kind of young uneducated marginal student. Again here CENS G teachers came out with distinctive responses saying that it is impossible to assert that someone is a “bad student” in general terms

The majority of teachers answered the questions about “who does well” and “who does not do well” upon criteria related to students’ attributes that we will call **discipline attributes**. Most of the responses about those who do well were categorised in what we called **pedagogic discipline** that refers to be industrious, attendance, constant. Responses about those who do badly in the CENS were categorised as lack of **social discipline** which refers to undisciplined, rough, and disturbing. Teachers clearly consider social discipline as a necessary conduct for marginalised and disadvantaged social groups, and its lack leads to moral condemnation from teachers.

Students’ responses were, in a way, similar to those from teachers and heads. The criteria for good students are related to regulative aspects but with an explicit reference for a need for time, to be industrious and spend time studying. 70% of the responses are concentrated in this group. Lack of time was also the main reason students recognise for those who did not finish the course as we have seen above. The only variation of students’ responses by CENS was that students from four CENS (A, B, C and F) gave the majority of answers concentrated in the category “social relationship (moral)”. The other three CENS (D, E, and G) have only one student each answering this category.

All the heads agreed in saying that ‘contextual problems’ (economic situation, familial troubles) are the main source of students’ dropout. Heads also said that the lack of support by the family, peers or at work might push students to leave the school. A director said: “Any adult who has no support from his or her context will abandon the CENS sooner or later.”

In the characterization of students dropout four directors gave responses related to the social and moral characteristics of the students: CENS A, B, C and F; the other group of heads did not give any other response different from those given by all the directors. Although most of the teachers’ responses were about context and pedagogic attributes on industry, almost half of the teachers considered that “dropout” is due to some moral deviance of the students. These nine teachers belong to four CENS (A, B, C, and F). In terms of the distribution of answers by subject area, general teachers are more sensitive to personal attributes of the students.

Whereas teachers gave almost the same importance to students' individual attributes than they gave to students' context, in the students' questionnaire we found that 78% of the students answered that lack of time is the main reason for leaving the school (only 10% of the students answered "not enough effort" is a reason for leaving the school). Students connected this lack of time with what we categorised as 'contextual constraints'.

In short those who leave CENS are those individuals with a difficult context, particularly in economic terms, and those who lack pedagogic attributes, especially industry.

When analysing possible strategies to retain students an interesting difference came out within the CI+ group. D and E heads and some teachers gave responses related to individual support and emphasised regulative elements, whereas in CENS G the responses were clearly instructional.

With respect to intake we reported that only CENS A and B do not have any kind of filter related to their CI, and these two have a weak relation with the CI. The other five CENS have some kind of filter related to the CI. CENS C only receives students that the CI (State employer) selects and CENS D, E, G prioritize CI members and their relatives.

There was a difference in the orientation and function of the diagnosis workshop. In CENS A, B, C, and F the meaning is more regulative whereas in CENS D, E and G it is rather instructional. Within the last group E gave also a regulative emphasis. This is consistent with the classificatory principles that dominate in each group of CENS. Summarizing the differences between the two groups of CENS we may say that there is a group of CENS (A, B, C, F) where the emphasis of the principle of classification is rather personal oriented and regulative while in the other group (D, E, G) the emphasis is rather positional and instructional.

6.3.3 Framing criteria and school social relations: control, reproduction and direction of the CENS

In this section we will be looking at the control over social relations at the CENS level as an organization, the problems of order reproduction, tensions over conflict and consensus. In terms of internal institutional relationships, we have so far presented the results

related to classificatory principles of staff and students, now we turn to the control over the social relations and the configuration of the government of the institution in terms of relations between direction, staff and students. These will be related to issues of control of social relations, order maintenance, production of legitimacy, conflicts, consensus, resistances and solidarities.

In terms of our school topology we will consider issues related to direction, from heads, teachers and students, sites of legitimacy and issues related on social relationships.

6.3.3.1 Social relationships and school direction

When we analysed heads responses about their own work directing the school a major axis goes across all, that is about how “directive” they are towards teachers and, on the other hand, whether they work with their staff on the basis of consensus or not.

Only Mr. A does not recognise, or explicitly assumes, specific directive functions at all, just administrative kind of functions. He sustained “I try to be just one more in the school. I do not want to be seen as ‘the’ director”. The other six heads, with very different emphasis, made their position as heads of the Centre clear. For all of them it is an issue to have some control over what happens in the school. These six heads talked about their own doubts about how directive they should be, as a director put it “being very directive is negatively charged by others like teachers or the outside of the school, but not being directive may be seen as a weakness.”

Three directors B, C and F made strong statements that direction is a matter of authority towards teachers and students, and that they try to maintain their own. Mr. F said that he might not be as successful as he would like. The other two said they are ‘the’ authority in their schools without any doubt. These three referred, as a very important aspect of their own work, that they emphasise issues like punctuality, dressing, and manners for both teachers and students. The three also acknowledged having conflicts with teachers who challenge their authority by not accepting a direct command. They also had in common a concern about having a good climate at school. Mr. A was the only one who said that he never had a problem with a teacher.

D, E and G had in common that they emphasised rather instructional issues, like control over assessment and control over teaching contents, when they answered about their role of directing the school.

B, D and E referred having problems between general and specialization teachers. D and E referred issues about the weight and demand of the specialization area, while B referred to “crossing accusations of not considering the other area in their teaching.” (We must remember that she tried to give more emphasis to the specialisation area and was resisted by general and some specialised teachers too).

D, E and G had also conflict situations with a teacher, who wanted to replace them as heads of the school, and in the three cases it was the CI which solved the problem, but also the three said that they received the support from the majority of the staff.

All the reported troubles might be categorised as challenges to the classification settings through attempts to weaken or strengthen the framing or straight questioning a classification principle, either between discourse categories or between hierarchical axis of authority and power.

Consensus issues arose differently in heads responses. A said consensus is not a concern for him because he gives freedom to teachers. B, C and F said that they try to have consensus amongst the staff but only a small group of teachers supports them explicitly. E and G said that they have the support from the staff and that they are not “asking all the time what teachers think about everything.” Mr. D had a quite different position towards consensus issues; he responded “I always consult teachers, and even students, about important matters of the school. I try to reach agreements.”

Turning now to teachers opinions about heads we first portray responses about how supportive they feel their heads are in terms of their teaching work. Only nine out of the 19 teachers answered that the director supports them in their teaching work. The support they receive is mainly when they have problems with a group of students and in some cases the directors’ help is about decisions with respect to curriculum contents. The nine teachers who answered in this way belong to three CENS: D, E and G. Most

of the teachers from the other four CENS (A, B, C and F) answered that they do not receive any specific support from their directors.

The nine teachers who answered that they were receiving help from the director plus two other (one from CENS B and the other from CENS C) belong to the group of 11 teachers who gave a positive opinion about how the director was running the school. The other eight interviewed teachers have a negative opinion about the directors' work. Six teachers (three from CENS A, one of CENS B and two of CENS C) answered that the director was very authoritarian and rigid towards both teachers and students. Furthermore teachers from CENS A (three) and C (two out of the three interviewed) reported that the directors were not fulfilling their obligations; their directors seem to be absent from the school for long periods of time or "just sitting on their desks drinking coffee", nor do they listen to the teachers' requests. Two teachers' replies (one from CENS C and one from CENS B) were favourable, both said they were friends of the director and would not give negative opinions even if they had them.

The replies of teachers from CENS F are very different from those of other teachers. These teachers said the director was weak with the students, "he is too considerate with the students' personal situations, he forgives everything, and nothing is serious". Both teachers commented that in a conflict between a teacher and a student the director always takes the students' side and teachers consider this as a sort of "treason" to the staff and a sign of weakness with "the kind of low class students we have in this school".

So far we have presented the findings for those CENS in which the majority of the interviewed teachers expressed a negative opinion of how directors run the school. Now we turn to those three CENS (D, E and G) where all the interviewees gave a positive opinion about the directors' work and where all reported receiving support for their teaching from their directors. There are some common features in the description of the three directors: they seem to be open to teachers' and students' comments and suggestions, they seem to encourage teachers to innovate, and these directors are described as people who help teachers in their work. In all these three cases teachers recognize directors as having authority without being authoritarian, and the directors are respected as professionals. However there are some differences between the three CENS.

Teachers from CENS G stressed very strongly the fact that the director is an expert on adult education and that he is doing very good work with respect to the relation with the CI. In case of CENS E one teacher criticized the director for being “surrounded” by friends. One teacher of CENS D said that the director should be closer to the CI.

We also asked teachers if they considered that directors should do something that they were not doing. In a first view of the results there seem to be a group of dissatisfied teachers of the ways directors are running the school especially with respect to the social order: social relations, circulation of information and procedures for taking decisions. On the other hand there seem to be another group satisfied with the management of the directors. There are interesting findings in the distribution by CENS. The two group of CENS in terms of satisfied and dissatisfied teachers about heads work matches with the data we obtained in the teachers questionnaire about satisfaction on social relations (head, teachers and students). Those more dissatisfied teachers about social relations belong to the same four CENS that are dissatisfied here with the heads' work and the lowest numbers on dissatisfaction on social relations were given by teachers who belong to the three CENS where the interviewed teachers are more satisfied with their directors.

The dissatisfied responses were given, in the large majority, by teachers from four CENS: A, B, C and F. Teachers from CENS A, B, C in the previous question reported that their directors were authoritarian here they wanted a change in the director's management style to a weaker control particularly over social relations and discipline and a more relaxed and fair form of treating students. On the other hand the two CENS F teachers wanted stronger control from the director. It should be remembered that in the answer to a previous question these teachers said that the director was too permissive with the students (manners, discipline, attendance, appearance, addressing teachers).

The interviewed teachers of three CENS D, E and G answered showing satisfaction. These teachers remarked the fact that their directors are open to teachers' and students' opinions.

From those stating not receiving support from their heads only one teacher (CENS C) said she wanted more support from her director. The majority of these teachers also said that

they had a negative opinion about their directors. Thus we believe that the absence of responses demanding more support is related to teachers' dissatisfaction with their directors therefore they do not want any support. At the other extreme teachers from CENS D, E and G answered to a previous question that they feel supported by their directors and that they have a professional respect to their directors.

6.3.3.2 Official sites of legitimacy

We will consider three official sites of legitimacy as part of the sites where government of the schools would be studied: CENS Council, Institutional Participatory Plan (PIP) and students association. First we will look at the CENS Council which is a very important site, according to the official regulation, in that it opens the government of the school to teachers and students, even though the director is still the head and s/he has the faculty of the "last word", different issues regarding school life are a matter of concern of this tripartite body⁸¹.

CENS A, B, D and E heads answered they have the Council working and CENS C, F and G responded they do not have the council working. Within each group meanings of having or not having the Council working were different.

A and B said that they make two formal meeting per year that the regulation states as compulsory. CENS A and B said they just do the formal required things. CENS B head uses the council to solve some conflicts, despite acknowledging that she made the final decision over what they concluded at the council. Mrs. B said that the council is just for students' issues to be considered but not other institutional matters, they cannot plan what to do in the school or to make judgments on teachers work or behaviour". Mrs. B said that she respects the formality but for considering other issues she discusses "with whom and whenever it is necessary in between classes in the hall".

In the case of CENS A teachers did not confirm the director's response. Teachers from CENS A said that the director does not call for Council. One teacher summarised the opinion of her colleagues as follows: "The director does not want meetings because he will see

⁸¹ It was described in chapter 3.

his power challenged and if the Council works he would have to be committed to answering the demands of both teachers and students”.

In the case of CENS B the head responses were confirmed by the teachers. One teacher said that she does not know exactly how the Council works; she just receives the report from the Council meetings through her representative. The other teacher of CENS B was member of the Council at the time the fieldwork took place. The problem she sees in the Council is that it works as a place to legitimise the director's positions: “Teachers do not argue with the directress, they are just afraid of her and back her up. Students do not know how to discuss and they lose every single dispute. The Council should be a place where everyone has a voice in making and not a place where the directress confirms her decisions.”

In a quite different way CENS D and E directors seem to be very happy with the Council. CENS E says that “It is a good idea; it is useful to run a school. Without a team, a real group of teachers, it does not work, if you do not have the space for real participation it is not useful. We are starting this year, trying to listen the students what they want and need.”

The interviewed teachers of CENS E when questioned about the Council said that it is just a formality, which it is not working as should do. They considered that the Council must work properly especially to give students the possibility of presenting their point of view about how the school works. They also said that the staff has its own space in the staff meetings, so “the Council should be a space for students' voice”.

CENS D responded “It is perfect; it is a site for participation. Everybody participates, first year students as well (which is not in the regulation), the CI participates (The secretary of training of the Union). We have meetings once per month, treating all kind of issues, formal, subjects contents or problems, evaluation, what to do with the computers, etc. It is crucial to run a CENS because the big issues have to be discussed and you have to listen to everyone. And doing this you get more commitment if you want to make a change. I want more participation, but we do not have time. Each one prepares its own agenda and then everybody's agenda is discussed (students', teachers', director's and

administrative staff's)." Teachers gave similar responses to the director. They treat all kind of issues and they are very satisfied with it. This was the only CENS from which all the questioned students responded the questions about participation and most of the students responded they have some influence on issues of school life (see later on this chapter on students' influence of school life).

Within the group that does not have a council we obtained different responses about the reasons for it and different conceptualisations when asked if they would promote one or what they thought about having a Council.

Mr. C said "I do not have. 'We' do not need 'that' (*stressed*) kind of meetings. As an element to help the direction, it could be right. It should be just with teachers to advice the director. The director is who has the responsibility to run the school. He has to have the final and only word. I have one meeting per year with the teachers and they have another one with my administrative staff.)" When we tried to go further on his considerations about the Council we finally realised that he did not know the official regulation in depth.

All the interviewees from CENS C answered that it would be important to have a Council. Two of these three interviewees said that, as one put it, "It is imperative to have a CENS Council" in order to weaken the power of the director who, from their point of view, was responsible for the absence of a Council in their school. The issues these teachers considered were the concern of the Council were to share information about general aspects of the school life and to treat disciplinary conflicts with students.

In CENS F there is no Council. The director said "We have plenty of meetings with the teachers (about the modules, about some problematic students, to read the papers I write for them). I try to work with them 'invisibly' during the breaks in the staff room. I think it would be difficult to make the students participate." Teachers from this school were not interested in having a CENS Council. When they were asked they responded that they did not see the point of sharing decisions about the school with students.

CENS G has not formed the Council. The head said “We do not have it. We have the meetings with the teachers and we know what the students want. I don’t see the sense of making meetings to know what we already know, the students do not have time, and they talk to me and to the teachers every day. I prefer to make the discussions in the classroom, I even go there to participate, so I can hear all of them and not only the two who attend the meeting. It is very time consuming, and there should be a real interest of everybody especially from the students, they have to push as well. I don’t believe in the formal participation, in the ‘compulsory participation’. Anyway they have several ways of pushing and, I can tell, they do that very well.” The teachers of this school agreed that they have “enough staff meetings once per month” in which they discuss all the issues concerning the life of the school; therefore a Council would not be necessary for the staff.

The three CI representatives who were interviewed did not know about the Council. CENS E (army veterans association) and G (trade union) representatives said that they have very good communication and that they trust the heads so they do not need to participate in that Council. In the case of CENS F (catholic bishopric) he said that he would like to participate but he understands that it is not easy for the director “to have room where everybody can talk and giving opinions about how things must be done.”

With respect to the Participatory Institutional Plan, which is mandatory for every school to annually prepare it in the context of the council with intervention of all the actors (the regulation explicitly establishes the CI must be invited), five out of the seven directors responded they do not have a PIP. Three of these directors (A, E, F) do not have a PIP either other kind of plan. D and G answered that they plan activities with teachers in their staff meetings, which in both cases seem to be quite often. These two directors referred that their plan is “internal, not for showing outside the school”. We did not have access to those plans.

Only two heads (B and C) answered they have an annual PIP. We have access to CENS C PIP. The plan was actually done in 1991, and the director recognised that he wrote that plan on his own without anyone else’s intervention. Finally Mrs. B said: “We make it focused upon the students’ diagnosis and then we make a proposal of goals for the year. I prepare it with the teachers closest to me. The difference of this year PIP is

that we make it all together, with all the teachers, I had a lot of resistance, and now I am sharing it with the teachers, so I have less resistance.” Interviewed teachers did not know the PIP and we did not have access to it.

Only two CENS (B, F) have a students’ association working but in different forms. In the case of B the director runs it: “We have it with the primary school for kids with whom we are sharing the building. The government gives some subsidy and we buy computers, paper, all we need. That is something that I manage.” “We ask some money from the students as well, and then we decide with the other school how to spend the money.” “At the beginning of the year we ask for some money.”

CENS F head said “I do not have intervention; the law does not allow me to be involved. Before students wanted to make it legal I could have control and everything worked. We were able to buy a lot of things; we could buy furniture or light bulbs. Now I am out and nothing is working. The students are not really committed. They do not even pay \$2. I could push them before. Now I am off. It is madness, it is pure bureaucracy.”

CENS A and C heads said that there is no students’ association and they ask some little money per month for photocopies which is managed by them. E, D and G heads said that in CENS there is no need of a student union, particularly because most of the students are CI members. They do not ask for any money from the students.

6.3.4 Students’ view on social relations and control

Two different aspects of the social relations in the school were directly addressed in the students’ questionnaire: firstly we explored the students’ relation with the teachers specifically focusing on the students’ view on teachers’ knowledge of their lives outside the school and how well teachers should know students life. Secondly we queried about students’ influence in four aspects of the school life (teaching methods, contents, forms of assessment and discipline).

The first question of this set was about how well teachers know students’ life outside the school. The general results are presented in the table below.

Table 6.5: How well teachers know students' life

	Frequency	Percent
not at all	60	45.5
not very well	35	26.5
well	34	25.8
very well	1	0.8
N/A	2	1.5
Total	132	100

The distribution of responses shows that 72% of the students reported that teachers do not know about their lives or only very little. The 34 students who said that the teachers know their life well are equally distributed by gender. This means that, in relative terms, female students have higher figures than males. It is interesting to remember that the majority of the teachers are female.

CENS A and C have the largest number of students saying that teachers know their life (42% in the first and 43% in the second). On the other extreme, we can find the lowest figures in CENS E and G with 10% and 11% respectively.

Table 6.6: How well teachers know students' life by CENS

	Not at all	Not very well	Well	Very well	N/A	Total
CENS A	8	3	8			19
CENS B	13	8	8	1		30
CENS C	4	3	6		1	14
CENS D	4	3	4			11
CENS E	10	7	2			19
CENS F	13	3	4		1	21
CENS G	8	8	2			18
Total	60	35	34	1	2	132

Then, the students were asked whether teachers **should know** or not about their lives. As we can see in the figures below, a large majority of students answered that teachers **should not know** about their lives outside the school.

Table 6.7: Students' view on teachers' knowledge about their life

Teachers should know	31	(23.5%)
Teachers should not know	95	(72%)
N/A	6	(4.5%)
Total	132	(100%)

It is clear that the students consider that their private life and the school should be kept apart. We know that teachers are mostly satisfied with the relation with the students (84% of the teachers answered "satisfied" or "very satisfied") and only 34% of the teachers think the relation with the students should change.

We also designed a set of questions related to students' influence and desire for influence over some aspects of the school life. The questionnaire presented a table with four aspects: (a) teaching methods, (b) contents, (c) forms of assessment and (d) discipline (the table had a fifth option for "other" aspects). The students were asked to tick for each aspect; first, whether they feel they have 'a lot', 'some', 'little' or 'no' influence. Second, if they answered they had 'little' or 'no' influence they were asked "To what extent would you like to have influence?".

Students' view on actual influence across the above four items is quite similar. In all cases students reported they had low influence. With respect to the question about the extent students would like to have influence we found that the highest positive responses (58%) were given to the item 'forms of assessment' (considering together 'some' and 'a lot' influence). And 53% answered positively to have more influence over "teaching methods" and finally the items 'content of the subjects' and 'discipline in the school' received 41% of positive responses.

There is no gender difference in the answers to the four items. In all the cases the younger the students the more influence they feel they have and the more influence they want to have. The percentages for wanting to have influence for the younger students is in the order of 60% whereas only 25% of the older students want to have more influence. It is only for the item “forms of assessment” that 39% of the older students would like to have more influence.

CENS D is the only CENS that has all the students answering these questions. At the same time in all the items the majority of the students of CENS D answered that they had either little or some influence and that they want to have a lot of influence over the four items. At the other extreme CENS A has mostly negative answers about influence and very few students would like to have more.

In CENS B and G students reported having low influence over methods and contents and a clear majority of the students would like to have influence over these two aspects of the school life. In CENS C the majority of the students would like to have more influence over assessment. In CENS F half of the students answered that they had either little or some over the contents that are taught.

6.3.5 Summary on framing criteria and school social relations

From a general point of view we may group the heads according to the emphasis of their focus of control over teachers. B, C, F focused on rather regulative elements whereas D, E, G focused on instructional elements. A is a different case as it seems to have weak control over the staff.

B, D and E referred to having problems between general and specialization teachers and with the exception of A all heads reported having teachers challenging their position, though in different ways. All the reported conflicts between heads and teachers might be categorised as challenges to the classification settings through attempts to weaken or strengthen the framing or directly questioning a classification principle, either between discourse categories or the hierarchical axis of authority and power.

In terms of consensus among the staff towards direction the data reported from both heads and teachers gave as result that A, B, C, F do not have consensus but they have a small group of closer teachers. Within this group A and F seem to have weak control over staff and to be more permissive yet fair with students. B and C seem having strong control over social relations and discipline and they show more concern about their authority.

On the other extreme D, E and G seem to have more consensus among staff but with different degree. E seems to have more difficulties to create consensus, but he seems to achieve a general consensus among the staff. D does have consensus but it takes him a hard work to achieve it. Finally G seems to be the one with the highest level of consensus.

From the teachers' questionnaires we confirmed these results on consensus. Those CENS with low consensus are the same with more dissatisfied teachers on issues of social relations and those with high consensus have the less dissatisfied teachers.

There are only two CENS (D, E) where the council is working in the line established by the official regulation, but we found enough evidence that the council is properly working only in D. The Council seems to be a resource that is used as a direction tool by the heads; it is far away from the meaning that the official regulation tries to foster.

It seems that most directors do not open the government of the school to other actors, some to the teachers but certainly not to students. It seems they do not see the Council as a need neither they find it a useful nor particularly desirable tool to conduct the school. For some of them it would be a site for listening students' demands in an organised form, but not to share decisions with them about issues of school life, except for some about students' discipline. At the same time it is interesting the recontextualization of official regulations each one does at the local level, each one giving its own rationale for it, or even ignoring the regulation. At the same time in different heads the idea circulates that the basic economy of the CENS does not allow to spend time, to be "democratic", something they do

not have enough of. However it has to be said that some of them say to have other ways of getting information from the students and sites for negotiation or just for the students to push to set an agenda.

From students' point of view the relation with teachers is acceptable and there is a clear strong classification between their own life and school life. Relatively speaking this was only different for female students. With respect to influence over school life, in general students do not feel having influence but the majority of the contacted students would like to have some, particularly over assessment and contents. CENS D is the only CENS that has all the students answering these questions. At the same time in all the items most of the students of CENS D answered that they had either little or some influence and that they wanted to have a lot of influence over the four items. At the other extreme CENS A has mostly negative answers about influence and very few students would like to have more of it.

6.4 Synopsis to compare findings by CENS at institutional level

Given the amount and variety of data we have already presented, prior to present the discussion on the institutional relations, we would like to introduce a synopsis which shows schematically the main findings that allow to compare CENS at the institutional level, reported in chapters 5 and 6. The dimensions considered here are those that were significant in terms of similarities and variations amongst the sampled schools. A synopsis like this might be useful in terms of the economy of reading results but, it should be said, it might not be capable of showing all the complexity that the description of the object requires, and it loses some delicacy in the treatment of the data.

Classification (internal) between general and specialization subject areas				
	++ ⁸²	+	-	--
Strength of internal Classification	A C F	B	E	D G
External (State) regulation over Curriculum and syllabi.				
Curriculum	A B C F		E	D G
Syllabi		A B C F	E	D G
Curriculum bias to				
General	A B C F		E	D G
Vocational	D G	E		A B C F
Relative hierarchical positions according to areas of knowledge				
General subject agents / discourses	A B C F		E D	G
Specialization subject agents / discourses	D G	E	B	A C F
Internal Head – teacher control				
Intake	D G	E C	B F	A
Pedagogy	E G	D	A B C F	
Common guidelines	G	D	E	A B C F
Content selection	G	D E	B C F	A
Evaluation criteria	D E G	A B C F		
Criteria teachers' intake				
Regulative (personal)	A B C F	E	D G	
Instructional	G	D	E B F	A C
Evaluation criteria emphasis				
	++	+	-	--
Evaluation criteria regulative emphasis	A B C F	E		D G
Evaluation criteria instructional emphasis	G	D E		A B C F
Students' view of transmission				
Emphasis of the transmission on regulative	A B C F	D E	G	
Emphasis of transmission on instructional	G	D	E	A B C F
Tension to change forms of evaluation	A F	B C	D E	G

⁸² For the sake of making the reading easier we will be using a four-point scale (++) Very strong, (+) strong, (-), weak, (- -) very weak for all the dimensions.

External Relations				
	++	+	-	--
Relations with the CI	D G	E	C F	A B
Relations with other organizations	D G		E	A B C F
Internal Relations				
Classificatory principles of teachers				
Regulative emphasis	A B C F		E D	G
Instructional emphasis	D G	E	B	A C F
Classificatory principles of students				
Regulative emphasis	A B C F		E	D G
Instructional emphasis	D G	E		A B C F
Inner personal attributes	A B C F	E		
Context positional features (CI – work)	D G	E	B C	A F
Focus of control on social relations				
Regulative	A B C F	E	D	G
Instructional	G	D E		A B C F
Staff views on management reproduction				
Head's support on teachers' work	G D	E		A B C F
Staff opinion about the work of the head	G D	E		A B C F
Staff consensus	G	D	E	A B C F

6.5 Discussion on institutional relations

In order to move forward the description of the realizations of the pedagogic code and, specially, the reproduced pedagogic discourse at the level of the context of reproduction, that is our sampled CENS, we need to add information on social relations and on social order, as well as to combine it with issues of external and internal control and regulations.

“The pedagogic discourse of reproduction which is inserted in the contexts of reproduction (which school contexts depends upon relative autonomy given to levels or agencies at different levels of the educational system) is then constituted by a complex set of relations between recontextualizing fields and positions within such fields.” (...)

“Any pedagogic practice of reproduction is given by ID/RD where the unit of analysis may be a level of the education system, an agency, a curriculum, a unit of the curriculum or a context of transmission.” (Bernstein, 1990a; 198 – 199).

We must first consider that the evidence we have reported talks about no direct external control from the State over CENS. The kind of exchange between the DEAyA and CENS and between inspectors and CENS has been described as merely administrative. It is therefore a matter of discussion the effectiveness of the State control over the reproduction of the official pedagogic discourse. However as we found some regularities amongst the schools, in general, we also found other regularities in the differences (variations) amongst CENS. How the official pedagogic discourse works regulating the CENS in terms of contexts of reproduction, with their own pedagogic discourse of reproduction and the realizations of the pedagogic code becomes also a matter of discussion.

From the previous chapter we know that some elements of a General Regulative Discourse (Bernstein and Díaz, 1985; 118 -121) of the official pedagogic discourse are present in all the schools. Dominant principles of the society (Bernstein, 1990a; 196) are not basically challenged in any of the studied schools, but they become an arena of conflict: strong external classification between education and production, strong classification between intellectual and manual knowledge, a clear hierarchical division of labour between transmitters and acquirers. The official pedagogic discourse brings in its regulative discourse the translation of the distributive rules of the pedagogic device in relation with the distribution of different forms of knowledge and control over access to the “unthinkable” (Bernstein, 2000, 1990a, 1990b). In this sense the schools we are studying participate in the general reproduction of distributive rules in terms of the forms of knowledge they distribute to the class group they attend and in terms of location and general function of the secondary level school, as an agency of reproduction in the map of the official educational system.

“El Discurso Reglativo General puede considerarse como el substrato material, político e ideológico de los principios dominantes; él incorpora los principios dominantes que reproduce.” (Bernstein and Díaz, 1985; 121)⁸³

Nevertheless we found variations in the pedagogic discourse of reproduction in the sampled schools, within the limits of the dominant principles of the society and the general official recontextualizing principles.

⁸³ Here we offer a personal translation: “The General Regulative Discourse can be considered as the material, political and ideological substratum of the dominant principles; it incorporates the dominant principles that reproduces.”

In the comparison of the seven schools the relation with the CI came out as the most significant one from the three external CENS relations we analyzed. This external relation marks a major distinction among the schools. The two groups of CENS, that we categorised as weak (CI-) and strong (CI+) relation with the CI, behave similarly also in their external relation with other organizations. But most importantly these two groups came up and behave with regularities in the analysis of the transmission research area (Chapter 5).

As we have reported in chapter 5 we found two groups of CENS in relation with differences and similarities with the official pedagogic discourse, in terms of the official regulations, regarding official curriculum and syllabi. In those CENS we now categorised as CI- no significant differences were found. Whereas in the CI+ CENS we found both changes in the curriculum, in the syllabi, as well as in the degree and quality of changes were found.

“There is a further regulator of the pedagogic code realisations which is not intrinsic to the code modality. This regulator is extrinsic to the code, it is an external bias imposed by some power (e.g. State) external to the code modality. (...) This external bias imposed from without effects the criteria the agency has to meet. This bias may well effect not only the focus of code realisations but also expected management orientation, control over intake and staff (the bias of marketisation). This external bias may well be differently contextualised depending upon the mandatory characteristics of the bias.” (Bernstein, 2000; 24)

In the case of CI+ CENS we may think that the CI operates as an external source of power that also imposes an external bias to the pedagogic discourse of reproduction and the realization of the pedagogic code. On the other side, it is very interesting that despite the very weak, close to null, direct external control from the State over the transmission, the CI- CENS generally respect and reproduce the official pedagogic discourse. What is clearer in the reproduction in terms of instructional discourse of the official pedagogic discourse. The question is how the regulation is made effective.

Our hypothesis is that in those CI- schools the external regulation works through the dominant recontextualizing principles, defined in the official recontextualizing field, through teachers training and through the official syllabi and curriculum. Maybe in the CI- schools we are not in front of a relative autonomy (strictly speaking) of the field of reproduction, but facing a situation of a sort of “isolation” (or abandonment) from the

rest of the educational system and from the regulative space of the CI, which had demanded and created the school.

The external relationships with the State and with CI also have an economic (material) dimension. It should be remembered that, according to the CENS regulation, the CI has the responsibility to supply both infrastructural facilities and material resources needed for teaching. In the case of CI+ CENS heads reported receiving material support, but CI- CENS do not receive from the CI material support, and they receive neither enough material resources from the State. That is why the last type of CENS ask some money from their students for photocopies or to buy books, even chalks. This external element, economy, is also working in terms of external regulation. The external source of power of the CI+ is also working in terms of the material base. When the CI- staff was questioned about what they would like to receive from the CI, they said that material resources, but they also stated that they do not want the influence of the CI in the transmission.

“Shape and stability are intrinsic to code modality⁽⁸⁴⁾, bias and economy are not, but all four are components of the regulative discourse of the agency and its external regulation.” (Bernstein, 2000; 24)

From the point of view of the State, it has retired both material and symbolic support to these schools. It appear to be the case that the State opens the possibility of finishing the secondary school level for lower working class groups but it does not support its existence sufficiently. Hence schools depend upon the kind of political strategy the CI has in order to have minimal material conditions to work. In terms of symbolic resources when the CI does not give the school a clear orientation the school is strongly regulated by the official pedagogic discourse. The State is leaving the course of action to each school context, and it is not even centralizing the control over what happens in CENS.

At the same time, it has to be noted that we did not find evidence of the presence of any agency of the pedagogic recontextualization field directly related to these schools other than the CI+. We found no use of school texts or significant references to specific training on adult education, the data of teachers training we obtained was mainly related to subject contents and the courses were those addressing regular secondary school

⁸⁴ We shall refer to these elements later on this chapter.

teachers (except in the case of the CENS G director who was identified as an “expert” in adult education and who is a lecturer at university).

“The degree of autonomy of the pedagogic recontextualizing field can profoundly affect the pedagogic discourse reproduced in schools, essentially through the initial and in service training of teachers and through the books / text books which issue from the pedagogic recontextualizing field.” (Bernstein, 1990a; 202)

“If the PRF⁸⁵ can have an effect on pedagogic discourse independently of the ORF, then there is both some autonomy and struggle over pedagogic discourse and its practices. But if there is only the ORF, then there is no autonomy. Today, the State is attempting to weaken the PRF through its ORF, and thus attempting to reduce relative autonomy over the construction of pedagogic discourse and over its social contexts.” (Bernstein, 2000; 33)

When Bernstein describes the composition of the pedagogic recontextualizing field (Bernstein, 1990a; 192; Bernstein, 2000; 33) he includes universities, departments of education, specialized media of education, publishing houses and he also adds:

“It may extend to fields not specialized in educational discourse and its practices, but which are able to exert influence both on the State and its various arrangements and / or upon special sites, agents and practices within education.” (Bernstein, 1990a; 192)

We propose that the CI+ are acting as part of the PRF with respect to CENS, configuring a source of recontextualization principles to their own CENS, and through those transferring their own regulative discourse to the schools. This action of the CI+ as agencies of the PRF increases their relative autonomy from the State and its power is translated to the schools. This autonomy is not enjoyed by those CI- schools, maybe not because those CI are not powerful with respect to the State (unions, catholic church), nor because they are part of the State (the CENS C, which has the National State as CI) but because they do not exert power with respect to CENS. So as these CI- do not act as PRF for CENS, these remain as objects of the official pedagogic recontextualization field.⁸⁶

“Both recontextualizing field, the official and the pedagogic are affected by the fields of production (the economy) and symbolic control. There is a double relation between recontextualizing field and the fields of production and symbolic control:

⁸⁵ Pedagogic Recontextualizing Field (PRF), Official Recontextualizing Field (ORF)

⁸⁶ For a discussion on the relative autonomy of education for Bernstein see Apple, 2002.

1. The theories, practices, social relations within these fields will exert an influence upon the discourse to be transmitted and on how they are transmitted; upon both the 'what' and the 'how' of pedagogic discourse.
2. The training requirements of agents (especially dominant agents within the field of symbolic control) will influence the 'what' and 'how'." (Bernstein, 1990a; 198)

From the point of view of the history, when CENS were created the State opened the recontextualization field to agencies from the field of production (State enterprises and, mainly, unions), which had an important power relation with the State. These organizations took the CENS as a way to have more educated workers by institutions under their own control. When some of these agencies left CENS to their own destiny they retired from being part of the PRF, and the State did not take direct control over these schools, as we see in the case of CI- CENS.

Looking now at the dynamic of the position the State takes towards these schools, we cannot read the situation as Bernstein (2000, 78) poses in a movement of decentralization and re-centring control, because we did not find evidences of re-centring control over evaluation, inspection nor curriculum. Neither can we read this situation in the same way, strictly speaking, that is done by most sociological research in the context of neo-liberal movements in the last two decades⁸⁷. Which, among other features, entails marketisation, school choice, new local management, etc. The remarkable absence of the State control restricts us to do it. We think however that the retreat of the State can be seen in the same neo-liberal trend but with specific features for the Argentinean case. This should be matter of further analysis and empirical studies that cannot be afforded here.

From the development done by Bernstein and his colleagues and students⁸⁸ we know that social class and group location of the acquirer effect her/his relation with the acquisition of the code, in terms of recognition and realization rules in order to produce legitimate texts within an interactional practice / context. We also know that the pedagogic practice is a social and communicative relation, which cannot be seen from only one of the categories involved. Hence we may think that the particular features of students in

⁸⁷ See: Ball et al (2003); Ball (1990, 2000); Beck (1999) Dale (1997); de Marinis (1999); Dean (1995); Jones and Moore (1995); Miller and Rose (1990); Rose (1989, 1996a, 1996b); Rose and Miller (1992); Varela and Álvarez Uria (1991); Whitty (1990, 1997).

⁸⁸ See: Bernstein (1973a, 1973b, 1977, 1990, 1996, 2000), Apple (1992), Cook-Goompertz (1975), Domingos (1989), Holland (1981), Morais (1992).

CENS influences the transmission and the orientation of the code. In terms of what we have been analysing about external forms of regulation and control, we would like to add that it might be a difference in the weight that the features of students have in the regulation of pedagogic contexts with different strength of external regulation.

We dare to offer the following hypothesis:

Whenever the external regulation weakens and the source for external bias in terms of direct State control is diffused, the greatest the possibility that the relative social position of acquirers effects a greater regulation over the internal re-contextualization of the external bias. Where the external regulation is stronger the internal regulation given by the social position of the acquirers over the re-contextualization of the external bias tends to be weaker. That is in the case of the CI- the influence of the students social context over transmission is stronger than in the case of the CI+.

We already know from chapter 4 that the social composition of third year students has some particularities that need to be taken into account here, particularly in their relation to national figures. Firstly, the length of participation in education of third year students of the sampled school is above the national rates, secondly the number of unemployed individuals is larger than the national figures and, third, more than half of the students hold at least medium position jobs. All these elements can be seen as signs that these CENS are internally selecting high levels of students or, from the reverse point of view that these students do not drop out. This selection may also influence the pedagogic practices in the schools, the expectations of students and staff. We may understand this selection as a form of control affecting both the life of the school and the results it produces.

We have reported in this chapter that the main reasons why some students do not finish the course are related to contextual constraints (both economic and familial difficulties). We also knew, from the perspective of third year students, that time is a key resource to succeed in CENS and that lack of time was identified by the students as the main cause for dropping out, and they also linked the lack of time with contextual constraints. From the heads and teachers point of view social and pedagogic discipline are prerequisites to “do well” at CENS. Most heads and teachers used a social discipline criterion (uncivi-

lised, rough) to describe “bad” students. Students identified the need of being industrious and spend time studying as a feature of a good student. As we have discussed in the previous chapter, discipline (both pedagogic and social), time (out of the school) and a second space of acquisition are needed. Those who cannot dispose of those requirements will not succeed at CENS, in different forms the schools select those students who can afford the required time and space.

But within the limits of the general criteria discussed above we also found variations among CENS on the emphasis of classificatory principles of the students, these differences entail some diversity in the orientation of the code, in the pedagogic practices, the realization of the code and the regulative discourse of the reproduced pedagogic discourse.

From an overall view the same grouping of two CENS came out with respect to differences in the classificatory principles of the students, and also some variation appeared within each group. The CI- CENS gave more emphasis to regulative features and personal oriented criteria to classify students, both from teachers and heads responses. In this group we found references to moral and social characteristics of the students to describe those who left the school, as well as to describe bad students. They also related the social and moral features with intellectual learning difficulties. In terms of the selection procedures (both explicit and implicit) A and B have no filter related to the CI in the students’ intake and both have a relatively younger group of students. In CENS B a rather explicit filter operates as they ask those who enter the CENS some money in order to be registered. In CENS C all students are civil servants and it is the CI that selects the students, but as the CI representative did not receive us we do not know which criteria are employed. CENS F has also a filter linked to the CI, which is that students have to be male; this CENS has the highest proportion of unemployed students. In these CENS the focus of the Diagnosis Workshop, consistently, is regulative.

Instead the CI+ CENS teachers and directors added instructional and positional features to describe their students and good students besides the general agreement on pedagogic discipline. Most teachers of these CENS were reluctant to accept the “bad” student category (particularly CENS G teachers). Directors of this group considered positional context features of the students when they described them, such as labour

status and membership to the CI. CENS G director and teachers came out with a particular different line of responses as they referred students' interest in the curriculum orientation as a significant issue that helps students to do well. In these CENS the diagnosis workshop is focused on instructional aspects (levelling the students' basic skills), but in CENS E there is also an important regulative emphasis. Another difference was also found when completing the data on classificatory principles. We asked about strategies to retain students, CENS D and E gave responses related to regulative strategies whereas CENS G gave specifically instructional oriented responses (i.e. selecting teachers for first year and the orientation of the curriculum).

We connect the differences we found on regulative or instructional emphasis for the classificatory principles of the students with the emphasis and bias of the pedagogic discourse reproduced in each CENS. It seems consistent that those schools that emphasise on the vocational orientation of the curriculum and on instructional elements of the pedagogic discourse also have an emphasis on instructional features of their students. On the other hand those schools with a more general education and regulative orientation (maybe to general life and work basic skills) emphasise regulative features of the students.

Considering the general characterisation of CENS students and the basic features referred about students and the principles of classification working in these schools, even taking into account the variations we have reported, we believe that CENS have a general function of a repair system, a sort of remedial device for those who can cope with the pedagogic code within the official discourse. We can think that this remedial function can be realized through variations and that those variations are related to different subgroups within lower working class group. We are talking here about differential emphasis on social skills, general education or vocational education, all of them under a big umbrella of adult education in relation to the so called "world of work". In this sense the relation of education and work has new meanings. Bernstein saw this tendency by the end of the eighties in Britain, with different characteristics to those of the Argentinean case but still valuable to understand it.

"It could be argued against this view that we are now witnessing a new preoccupation with the relation between education and work. This preoccupation is the result of massive changes in, and redefinitions of; the division of labour in the economic

field, themselves a consequence of the 'communication revolution'. Severe problems of unemployment, especially among the young, have had a direct effect upon the school, where various forms of skill training and vocational emphasis have been promoted and funded by new pedagogic agencies of the state (e.g. Manpower Services Commission in the UK). However, they are likely to create no more than a pedagogizing of lower-level skills and social discipline as a basis for careers. At most we are witnessing the insertion of an 'imaginary apprenticeship' system within sections of the school". (Bernstein, 1990a; 204)

Considering other internal classificatory principles and issues of internal control we have now to discuss how the external power influences are processed internally as well as the internal features that allow the reproduction of the code and discourse.

In the case of the CI+ it may have an internal translation in terms of power relations, giving a higher rank to some discourses over others (in this case specialization area over general area), changing the values of internal classification between discourses, and establishing the head category with more legitimacy which is accompanied by a category relation and voice of more room for discretion, most likely within the limits of the external bias of the CI.

In regard to the translation of external power and control relations to the internal control of the staff and of pedagogy, those directors of CENS CI+ employ more than those CI- the room of discretion opened by the informal procedure to assign teachers. This in turn effects over issues of consensus and conflicts between heads and staff and among staff. Those that have selected most of their teachers enjoy higher levels of consensus and satisfaction from the staff than those that have not selected most teachers. The later have more dissatisfied teachers, particularly in relation with social relations but also with instructional aspects.

Bernstein (2000, 23-24) sustains that the pedagogic code modality effect "its stability or rather the management of the stability (reproduction). As code modalities change so do problems of conflict and consensus, and of order and reproductions. As a consequence, the form of the management of stability and its strategies changes, and strategies of resistance and solidarity also change."

The consensus and legitimacy achieved through the selection of teachers allow reducing conflict and it creates the social basis to recontextualize the official pedagogic discourse giving the discourse of reproduction emphasis and bias of its own in the CENS. This entails a specific instructional discourse embedded in a specific regulative discourse. The specific regulative discourse might have as a source the regulative discourse of the CI. And the instructional discourse seems to be oriented for demands of the CI+.

The external power in the CI- is translated from the general dominant principles of the official recontextualization field, the official pedagogic discourse. And as there is no external relation that specifically pushes for some instructional orientation, a general education bias or a regulative social skills bias seems to dominate.

This can also be understood through the selection of teachers as a way of constructing the teacher category, as a classificatory principle. One of the CI+ (CENS D, administratively oriented) has the highest percentage of total number of teachers with university degree (10 out of the 13 teachers), and the other two CI+ (CENS E and G, both technically oriented) are the only ones of the sampled schools where more than half of the staff have a second professional job strongly related to the subject they are teaching. The other four CI- CENS have most teachers with teaching certificate and mainly with teaching jobs.

With respect to issues of directing the CENS we found both variations between the two groups of CENS, in terms of the CI relation, and within each group. B, C, F directors were categorised as focusing their control over the staff on regulative aspects, whereas D, E, G focus on rather instructional aspects. A seems to have a very weak control over the staff.

Within the CI- B and C seem to exert strong control over social relations and discipline with a profound concern on their own authority. A and F seem to have, in general, weak control towards both staff and students. Even though all of these heads have low level of consensus they have a small group of teachers close to them, mainly personal friends. These heads feel supported by this close group.

On the CI+ group we also found some variations. D and E reported that there were problems between general and specialized teachers, which they apparently managed to solve. If we consider the different degree of strong relation with the CI of these three CENS, where G has the strongest and E the weakest with D in-between. Then, if we consider the degree of consensus and conflicts, the same order comes out: G is the one with highest consensus and less conflicts; E within this group, is the one with more conflicts and has to work hard to maintain control over the staff; and D falls in-between.

We found that there is a relation between the forms and focus of directing that heads deploy and the general orientation and emphasis of the pedagogic discourse and, particularly, distinctive elements of the regulative discourse. A and F both have weak internal control and a more regulative oriented discourse particularly referred to social life skills, B and C have strong control focused on regulative aspects for both teachers and students and share a general education oriented discourses with some elements of basic skills for work. Within the CI+, G is the one more vocationally oriented and holds a high level of legitimacy, consensus and control; D is in a tension trying to give more emphasis to the vocational orientation but it is somehow combined with a general education bias and the director makes great effort to maintain the control; and E is the one, within the group of vocational oriented, with a stronger emphasis on general education and the head have some difficulties to balance the control over staff and discourses.

The space of the category 'head' of CENS seems to have clear boundaries and all have to work in order to maintain and suffocate threats to the classification and framing. All heads have their own rationale in order to explain (or not) why they do not use the sites created by the regulation for consensus. In different directors circulates the idea that the basic economy of the CENS does not allow to spend time to be "democratic", something they cannot afford. However, those with a stronger relation with the CI have different ways to open the direction space in order to get information from students' demands or allow students to push to set an agenda, and have staff meetings where they reproduce their own directing control.

The differences we found in the classificatory principles, in bias and emphasis of the pedagogic discourses, the already discussed differences on external regulation and is-

sues of internal control led us to differentiated regulative discourses in the two groups of schools. The general findings reported and discussed up to now also allow us to reconsider differences and effects in the modalities of the pedagogic practices in the sampled schools, something we started discussing in the previous chapter.

We have already said that in all sampled CENS the dominant modality of the pedagogic practice is a visible one (with a possible combination of elements of invisible pedagogy because of the presence of regulative elements in the evaluation criteria; this was found in every CENS but in a stronger manner in the CI-). But we think that the two CENS categories we have constructed may also have two modalities of visible pedagogy.

Bernstein (1990a; 86-88) formalised two modalities of visible pedagogy, autonomous and market-oriented: "...visible pedagogies justified by the intrinsic knowledge itself and visible pedagogies justified by their market relevance." (Ibid; 86). The autonomous visible pedagogy is self-referential and its own legitimacy is given by the knowledge and the discipline it relays. Bernstein refers to "its arrogance lies in its claim to moral high ground and to the superiority of its culture".

On the other hand market-oriented visible pedagogy "is a truly secular form born out of the 'context of cost-efficient education', allegedly promoting relevant skills, attitudes, and technology in an era of large-scale chronic youth unemployment. (...) Specialization of curricula within a dominant market-oriented visible pedagogy allows for an almost perfect reproduction of the hierarchy of the economy within the school, or between schools (as in the case of 'magnet' schools), through the grading of curricula, e.g. managerial / administrative / business, through the various technological specializations, clerical, and imaginary trade apprenticeships for the lower working and marginal class groups." (Ibid. 86)

In a first approach we may categorised the CI- CENS having an autonomous modality, based on the weak external relation with the CI and other organizations of the production field, its discursive orientation to general education with regulative emphasis, a hierarchy of the general area subjects over the specialized subjects. On the other hand we may categorize CI+ having a market-oriented pedagogy, based on a strong relation

with CI (particularly the two which have a union as CI), their exchange with other organizations related to the field of production, a rather vocational focus of the discourse with instructional emphasis, a relative dominant position of the specialised subjects.

However the use of the modalities constructed by Bernstein does not describe accurately the pedagogic practices in the sampled schools. Nevertheless, they act as models providing us with some tools to study them and to try to develop a more accurate description.

First with respect to CI- we can see a resemblance of the autonomous visible pedagogy but we do not find that the transmission was mainly based on the internal logic of the disciplines that are the bases of the subjects. It seems that the orientation to meanings is focused on social skills for life and also for the world of work. There is no emphasis in the knowledge itself but a high value over the discipline that is required for acquisition is given to it, as it is also the case with how knowledge transmission functions as a transmission of social skills device as well as to position subjects.

With respect to CI+ more features of the market-oriented visible pedagogy model are useful for the description. As we have said before we found evidence of external demand of skills and knowledge, where the CENS are related to the economy, in a systemic relation, through a structure of the curriculum, which tends to emphasise vocational discourses and through internal values of classification and framing that gives bases for the vocational orientation. The classificatory principles and selection of both teachers and students has also to be considered as evidence of a market-oriented pedagogy. Moreover the regulative discourses of the CI, particularly in those two which have a union as CI, give bases to an orientation of meanings in the way of constructing a worker as the pedagogic subject and the legitimate knowledge is that related to the specific area of work in the field of production, which is strongly present in the realization of the curriculum orientation. This assumes a different situation in the case of CENS E where the CI is not from the field of production and it has low exchange with firms related to the curriculum orientation; tensions with general area teachers and some regulative emphasis were also present. It may be that in the case of D and G the technical curriculum orientation is also operating to make the pedagogy closer to vocationalism than in the case of CENS E where the curriculum orientation is administrative. However

in our case we did not find evidence of tendencies to privatization, forms of assessment based on criteria-referenced and functional analysis to construct performance indicators for staff and pupils, neither a behaviourist theory of instruction ruling the pedagogy. We need to add more information in order to have a better description.

In the next chapter on pedagogic identities, some of the latter discussion and analysis of the pedagogic discourse will be enriched. We think that the study of the effects and identity construction in the CENS as well as the study on change potential will allow us to complete the picture.

7. PEDAGOGIC IDENTITIES

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter we analyse the expected results and the effects of the school and how they are constructed from the perspective of students, teachers and heads. Here we are concerned with types of pedagogic identities, their resources and the relations towards the construction of pedagogic identities. We shall describe the types of identity that are constructed in the sampled schools. We consider as the expected identities of the school those that are projected by discourses of the school. We examine the distribution of students' futures and expectations from the point of view of both students and staff.

In the process of the realizations of the pedagogic codes and pedagogic discourses, at different levels, pedagogic identities are created. Pedagogic identities can be understood as the result of the projection of a given pedagogic discourse and the acquisition of a given pedagogic code. As a projection of the pedagogic discourse a discursive space is created in terms of what is expected of teachers and students inserted in a given social order, and it is constructed in the process of the realization of a given code modality. Bernstein (2000; 65) sustains that different bias and focus of pedagogic discourses construct different pedagogic identities:

“Thus the bias and focus of this official discourse are expected to construct in teachers and students a particular moral disposition, motivation and aspiration, embedded in particular performances and practices.” (Ibid; 65)

From the previous chapters we already have some descriptions of discourse, heads, teachers and students categories and of their enactment in social relations. With regard to the pedagogic code description and the identities (voice) of the categories constructed by the principle of classification we discussed variations in terms of:

- relations between discourses (subject areas) which define hierarchical relations and set positions in the social division of labour at the school level;
- relations between agents (basically among staff and between staff and heads) which are the result of combination of the discourse classificatory principle and a function of the intake / selection of the staff (i.e. personal relation with the head in some schools, criteria to construct the teacher category related to teaching, to knowledge of the subject, to knowledge of and practice in the field of production; CI membership);
- relations between transmitters and acquirers, which move within a strong classification and a clear hierarchy; despite the fact that both are adults;
- the construction of the category students in function of their local context, or their regulative / instructional attributes, their positional features related to work and the CI;
- category relations between the students that are finishing the course and those who dropout, this last becomes a significant source to describe those who will be able to produce the legitimate message at CENS and those whose voice potential restrict their participation in these schools.

The category constructions entail a voice, an identity, the potential meanings to be realised in the pedagogic practice, they are built on a social order, which is realised (in tensions, with threatens to it) in the social relations. However it is yet to be described the configuration of the pedagogic identities projected by the reproduced pedagogic discourses at the schools.

Although latest Bernstein's work on identity was mainly focused on official knowledge, recontextualization, the projection of official pedagogic identities and its relation with local pedagogic identities (Bernstein, 2000; Bernstein, 2001) we shall use the conceptual tools he developed in order to describe the pedagogic identities constructed at CENS. We shall also take advantage from those developments on pedagogic identity as a way to access to elements of the pedagogic discourse in order to complete its description. In this sense we expect that the projected identities, the embedded relation between a career and social order in a collective base, between expected futures and social dominating purposes (Bernstein, 2000; 66, 205), will allow us enriching and developing the external language of description.

We shall report issues related to aims for teachers, aims and motives for students, issues related with effects of the CENS on students, as well as forms of achieving those effects and CENS institutional identities.

7.2 CENS aims and expectations (teachers and students)

In order to have a general picture about the expected aims of the schools we shall present first the results from both teachers and students questionnaires. In both questionnaires we used the same options for questions on aims:

- a) To improve students prospects at work
- b) To help students improve their conditions to find a job
- c) To prepare students for higher education
- d) To develop students understanding of being a citizen in Argentina
- e) To improve students basic skills
- f) To develop confidence in themselves

In the case of the teachers questionnaire we made two different questions, one referring what teachers think are the most important aims for the school, and the other asking what are the most important aims for the teachers themselves. In both cases they had to tick in a two scale option very important / not important.

In the responses to both questions we found major agreement on the following four aims, where around 80% of the teachers answered that they were very important aims for the school and for them as teachers of CENS:

- a) To improve students prospects at their work
- b) To help students improve their conditions to find a job
- e) To improve students basic skills
- f) To develop confidence in themselves

The focus of these aims is mostly instrumental and the first two are related to 'work', only the fourth one is rather a regulative aim. No significant differences were found be-

tween CENS, neither were significant variations between groups of teachers by subject area or other variable.

In the results for the aim 'to prepare students for higher education' there is a remarkable contrast between the answers about the importance of this aim for the school and the importance the teachers themselves gave to this aim. In the first question, importance for the school, 51% of the teachers answered positively; whereas when we asked their own opinion only 16% of the teachers answered positively. This may be considered as a teachers' formal recognition of this aim as a function of the school but they do not consider it to be very important and they do not see to pursue for further education as a feasible future for the students.

With respect to the aim 'to develop students understanding of being a citizen in Argentina' we find a stronger contrast than in the higher education aim between the importance of this aim for the school and the importance for the teachers. While more than half of the teachers answered that understanding of citizenship is important for the school, only seven teachers answered that it is an important aim for them. Once more there is recognition of an aim seen as a function of the school, which is not an important aim for the teachers.

When we looked at the 'not important' answers for the citizenship aim for the school we found two thirds of teachers (16/24) answering in this way belong to the specialisation subjects-area. Specialisation teachers seem to place their emphasis on instructional elements of the transmission rather than on regulative elements. This reinforces the findings reported in the chapter 5 on emphasis of teaching of the teachers grouped in the two areas and in the students' answers where the majority of students said that humanistic subject teachers, mostly general area subjects, rather emphasise on regulative elements than specialisation subject teachers.

When we look at the results of students responses⁸⁹ to the question about what were those motives they had had when they joined the CENS we find the following distribution:

⁸⁹ It should be noticed that students were asked to tick two options.

Table 7.1: Students' motives for starting studies in CENS

To improve my prospects in my work	62	(47%)
To improve my conditions to get a job	48	(36%)
To prepare myself for higher education	102	(77%)
To develop understanding of citizenship	30	(22%)
To improve basic skills	41	(31%)
To develop self confidence	51	(39%)

As we can see in the table above the motive 'to prepare myself for higher education' is the one that had the highest number of students (102 students, 77%) reporting that it was an important reason for starting their studies at the CENS. These results are reinforced by the responses to the question "What would you like to do when you have completed your studies here?" (students' questionnaire, question 31): 70.5% of the students said that they would like to continue their studies in higher education when they finish the course in the CENS. It is very interesting that in answering this question 86% of the students reported that they were simply looking for the public certificate of secondary education awarded by the Department of Education. When students were asked about the possibility of achieving the aim of higher education, 82% of the students considered that it was either 'likely' or 'very likely'.

This becomes a very striking result for two different reasons. First it is a motive that was very low down for the teachers. Second it is surprising that CENS is perceived by more than three quarters of the students as a resource for higher education, and only less than half of the students see the CENS course related to the work context.

A significant finding was that 86% of the students considered that to have the CENS certificate was a very important reason for doing the course. The public certificate may function as a means to a higher status (salary) in a job or as an important item in a curriculum when looking for a job.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ According to data from the INDEC (1996) 20.1% of those who do not have secondary education certificate are unemployed. Whereas the figure of unemployment of those with secondary education certificate is much lower: 5.4%.

Considering the results we have for higher education and the importance students gave to the public certificate it may be that students view the CENS as a repair system, enabling them to redeem their “failure” in the standard secondary school. We shall explore this further in the interviews to directors and teachers.

In the case of both motives related to work (‘to improve prospects in my work’ and ‘to improve my conditions to get a job’) the significant associations were employment and occupation. The employed students were more likely to respond positively the motive ‘to improve prospects in my work’ as an important reason to start the CENS. Whereas the majority of the unemployed students answered positively to the motive to improve their conditions to get a job. We may say that some students consider the CENS as a resource for work as they think that it would improve the prospects in their work and that the experience in the CENS would help to improve their conditions to get a job.

As the students made two choices we do not know the first choice, we know the most popular choice, higher education, which may represents an ambition of all the students. The second choice we are inclined to believe it is a more “pragmatic” choice, such as those related to work. However, very close to those almost 40% of the questioned students answered “to develop self confidence” which is a regulative aim connected with some inner aspects to face external world.

The motive related to the understanding of citizenship was the only one in which we found a clear difference between CENS. Three CENS (D, E and G) had the majority of positive answers for this motive and the other four had very low positive responses. This grouping was not found in the teachers’ responses to the aim on citizenship.

The two groups matched our distinction of weak and strong relation with the CI. The CENS that had the majority of positive responses were those with a strong relationship with the CI and the group of CENS with low positive responses had a weak relation with the CI. What is the relation between the type of CI regulation over the CENS and discourses about citizenship privileged by the students. Is the CI a source of pressure to

transmit ideas about citizenship?, or do these CENS select (more or less explicitly) students with a higher sense of citizen responsibility?

These results on aims for teachers and students were checked in the focus groups we made. Teachers said that although they recognize that most of their students have the desire to continue their studies at universities or tertiary institutions they think that it would only be possible for a reduce portion of the CENS graduates. Their main argument was that only some young people with good background would be able “to survive” in further education institutions. The context of the students and the academic demand of higher education institutions become constraints for CENS students. A small group of the interviewed in the focus group said that there is an offer of low academic standard higher education institutions that could be an option, but it would not be easy for their students to get along tertiary studies. Another small group acknowledged they discourage their students and they recommend some vocational options for them, which are out of the tertiary institutionalized level.

7.3 Effects

A set of questions was designed to find directors’ and teachers’ views about the CENS effects of the school upon students. We asked them about the CENS contributions to students, we also asked about their satisfaction of the effects of the CENS and how the school achieves its effects.

7.3.1 CENS rationales and effects on heads’ views

Directors and teachers were asked what they considered was the main contribution of the CENS to the students. We obtained two types of responses: one type was related to what we called the “rationale” of the school, which refers to the formal expected function of the school. The other type of responses referred to the actual effects of the school on students. We used the same network to analyse both types of responses for both heads and teachers’ responses from the interviews.

Network 7.1:

Heads`Rationale (R) / Effects (E) of the CENS

HEADS`RATIONALE / EFFECTS

				R	E			
Instructional	Educationalist	Quality	.....	+	(0)	(0)	
			.....	-	(0)	(0)	
		Knowledge	.....	+	(7)	(3)	
			.....	-	(0)	(6)	
		Basic skills	.....	+	(2)	(2)	
			.....	-	(0)	(1)	
		Instrumental	Work	job	+	(8)	(1)
					-	(1)	(8)
	improve situation			.....	+	(10)	(8)
				.....	-	(0)	(8)
	Higher education		.....	+	(5)	(1)	
			.....	-	(0)	(3)	
	Certificate	.....	+	(10)	(12)		
		.....	-	(0)	(0)		
Regulative	Social	Individual	communication	family	+	(2)	(12)
					-	(1)	(2)
				peers	+	(1)	(2)
					-	(0)	(0)
			work	.....	+	(3)	(5)
				.....	-	(1)	(2)
			self confidence	.....	+	(7)	(12)
				.....	-	(0)	(0)
		pastoral (caring)	.....	+	(1)	(2)	
			.....	-	(0)	(0)	
			opportunity	.....	+	(6)	(12)
				.....	-	(0)	(1)
		Community	Integration	.....	+	(4)	(3)
				.....	-	(0)	(0)
			Action	.....	+	(1)	(0)
				.....	-	(0)	(0)
	Political	Action	CI	.....	+	(1)	(1)
				.....	-	(0)	(0)
			Students	.....	+	(0)	(0)
				.....	-	(0)	(0)
		Resource	CI	.....	+	(1)	(0)
				.....	-	(0)	(0)
			Students	.....	+	(0)	(1)
				.....	-	(0)	(0)
	Moral	Discipline	.....	+	(4)	(4)	
			.....	-	(0)	(0)	
		Civilise	.....	+	(4)	(5)	
			.....	-	(0)	(0)	

In the network 'RATIONALE' the directors' responses are distributed across the network. Both sub-networks, **instructional** and **regulative**, received 21 entries. Within **instructional** the category educationalist received nine entries whereas instrumental received 12 entries. Within **regulative** the category social received 12 entries, political seven entries and moral only two entries. In a first view directors seem to give a similar emphasis to both instructional and regulative aspects.

When we examined within each category we found an interesting distribution of entries. Educationalist received responses from the seven directors (nine entries). Six out of the seven directors gave responses that fell under instrumental (12 entries). The only director who gave no answer for this category is CENS F director. Three directors (D, E and G) gave nine out of the 12 entries in instrumental. Furthermore only these three directors gave responses coded in the subcategory 'work'.

Social received entries from four directors, CENS A, B, C and F. The other three directors (D, E and G) did not give any response of this type. Four directors gave answers which were entered in political, CENS B, D, E and G. Three out of the seven entries of political were given by the CENS G director and two entries were given by the CENS D director. As we shall see only teachers from CENS G gave answers coded as political. Finally, in moral two directors gave this kind of responses: CENS B and F.

All the directors seem to share the opinion that education itself ('quality', 'knowledge', 'basic skills') is what the CENS should give to the students. However, there seems to be two well defined groups of directors regarding the rationale of the CENS. One group (CENS A, B, C and F) that emphasised regulative/ social rationales. Other group (CENS D, E, G) that emphasised instrumental rationales particularly those related to work.

In the network 'EFFECTS' the sub-network **instructional** received 20 entries and the sub-network **regulative** received 29 entries. Within **instructional** the category educationalist received 4 entries, instrumental received 16 entries. Within **regulative** social received 22 entries, political four entries and moral three entries.

We shall present now the distribution of entries by head for the network EFFECTS. Educationalist received entries only from two directors (D and G). Instrumental received entries from the

seven directors. However it is worth noting that directors from CENS A, B, C and F gave weak emphasis to their responses coded in instrumental. At the other extreme the director of CENS G gave responses with a strong emphasis that were entered in the three subcategories of instrumental: 'work', 'higher education' and 'certificate'. The other head who gave responses entered in the subcategory 'higher education' was CENS D. Six out of the seven directors gave responses coded under social and it is remarkable that most of the entries for Mr. E were entered to 'social' although he gave responses to the other categories in a quite similar way than the rest. CENS G director was the only one who gave no answer of this kind.

Political received entries only from two directors: CENS D and G. Three directors gave responses that were entered in the category moral: B, C and F.

There are some differences between the 'rationale' and the 'effects'. Firstly in the 'rationale' network the responses are equally distributed between instructional and regulative sub-networks, whereas in the 'effects' network the regulative sub-network has received more entries. Second, in the 'rationale' network we can find responses from all the directors in the category educationalist but in the 'effects' network only from two directors (CENS D and G). Third, the category instrumental received more responses in the 'effects' network than in the 'rationale' network. However it is of some importance that directors of CENS A, B, C and F gave weak emphasis to this kind of responses. Fourth, only CENS D and G heads gave responses on effects to higher education. Finally it is important to note that the majority of the directors strongly recognised that CENS have clear regulative/social effects on the students.

7.3.2 CENS rationales and effects on teachers' views

With respect to rationale, teachers' answers are distributed across the network. The sub-network **instructional** received 43 responses whereas the sub-network **regulative** received 37 responses. The rationales with the highest number of responses are the following (we consider both weak and strong emphasis here):

- 9 - instructional/instrumental/work/job
- 10 - instructional/instrumental/work/improve students' situation in their work
- 10 - instructional/instrumental/certificate

Network 7.2:

Teachers' Rationale / Effects of the CENS

TEACHERS' RATIONALE (R) / EFFECTS (E)

			R	E			
Instructional	Educationalist	Quality	+	(0)	(0)		
		.....	-	(0)	(0)	
		Knowledge	+	(7)	(3)		
		.....	-	(0)	(6)	
		Basic skills	+	(2)	(2)		
		.....	-	(0)	(1)	
	Instrumental	Work	job	+	(8)	(1)	
				-	(1)	(8)	
			improve situation	+	(10)	(8)	
				-	(0)	(8)	
		Higher education	+	(5)	(1)		
		.....	-	(0)	(3)	
		Certificate	+	(10)	(12)		
		.....	-	(0)	(0)	
Regulative	Social	Individual	communication	family	+	(2)	(12)
					-	(1)	(2)
				peers	+	(1)	(2)
					-	(0)	(0)
			work	+	(3)	(5)	
				-	(1)	(2)	
			self confidence	+	(7)	(12)	
			.....	-	(0)	(0)
			pastoral (caring)	+	(1)	(2)	
			.....	-	(0)	(0)
		opportunity	+	(6)	(12)		
		.....	-	(0)	(1)	
		Community	Integration	+	(4)	(3)	
				-	(0)	(0)	
	Action		+	(1)	(0)		
			-	(0)	(0)		
	Political	Action	CI	+	(1)	(1)	
				-	(0)	(0)	
			Students	+	(0)	(0)	
				-	(0)	(0)	
			Resource	CI	+	(1)	(0)
					-	(0)	(0)
		Students		+	(0)	(1)	
				-	(0)	(0)	
		Moral	Discipline	+	(4)	(4)	
				-	(0)	(0)	
			Civilise	+	(4)	(5)	
				-	(0)	(0)	

16 different teachers out of the 19 interviewed gave those responses. We can note that these rationales belong to the **instructional/instrumental** category, none belong to the 'regulative' sub-network and none of these rationales belong to 'instructional/educationalist'. The other finding to be stressed is that two of the three rationales with the highest number of responses belong to the subcategory 'work'. These two rationales, 'job' and 'improve students' situation...', also received a high number of positive responses to the question about the aims of the CENS in the teachers' questionnaire.

Within the instructional/educationalist category the rationale with more responses is 'knowledge, strong emphasis' (7 responses). On the other hand within the regulative/social/individual category the rationales with the highest number of responses are 'opportunity' (6 responses) and 'self-confidence' (7 responses).

The rationale 'higher education', within the category instructional/instrumental', only gave rise to five responses. We should remember that in the teachers' questionnaire we found that the teachers considered that to prepare students for higher education was a function of the school but not for themselves. The result we obtained from the interviews confirms that for the teachers higher education is not a very important function of the CENS.

The category regulative/moral contained eight answers: four in the rationale 'discipline' and four in 'civilise'. Four teachers gave these seven answers. We will look later at the CENS to which these teachers belong.

It seems to be clear that the orientation of the rationale of CENS is very instrumental and particularly related to work for the interviewed teachers. As we said before two of the three rationales with most responses belong to instrumental (work and certificate).

Looking now at the network with the responses about EFFECTS of the CENS on the students we find that the responses are distributed across the network with a total of 117 responses, 53 responses in the **instructional** sub-network and 64 in the **regulative** sub-network. Comparing the 'rationale' network to the 'effects' network the **regulative** sub-network has 11 more responses. The effects with the highest number of responses (considering both strong and weak emphasis) are as follows:

- 16 - instructional/instrumental/work/improve students' situation in their work
- 12 - instructional/instrumental/certificate
- 14 - regulative/social/ individual/communication/family
- 12 - regulative/social/ individual/self confidence
- 13 - regulative/social/ individual/opportunity

It is of some importance that in the case of the effect 'improve situation...' the responses are equally distributed between the categories 'strong' and 'weak' whereas the majority of the responses in the other rationales with a high number of responses are in the category 'strong'. This distribution weakens the strength we might give to the meaning of the effect 'improve situation at work'. This is important, as the teachers do not particularly see the CENS as making a specific contribution to the students present work context.

In the category instructional/educationalist the effect 'knowledge' (9 responses, 6 out of the 9 were in the category weak) was the option with most responses, as it was in the rationale network. It is interesting that in both networks, 'rationale' and 'effect'; the category 'basic skills' had very few responses (2 responses in the rationale network and 3 responses in the effects network).

In the subcategory instructional/instrumental/work the effect 'job' had 9 responses, 8 out of the 9 responses were in the 'weak' category; whereas the reverse happens in the rationale network where it is one of the categories receiving more responses and most of them with a 'strong' emphasis. In the sub-network instrumental the category 'higher education' is the effect with the fewest number of responses (4 responses, from which 3 were entered as 'weak').

As we can see in the **regulative** sub-network the three options with the highest number of responses (communication/family, self confidence and opportunity) belong to the subcategory social/individual. These three options represent almost two thirds of the entries of the sub-network regulative (39 out of the 67 entries that fall in the sub-network). The category moral had 9 responses: 4 in 'discipline' and 5 in 'civilise'. 6

teachers gave these responses. Below we shall look to which CENS these teachers belong.

Unlike the case of the 'rationale' network where there were fewer regulative responses than instructional responses we found that in the case of the 'effects' network the regulative sub-network contained more responses than the responses in the instructional sub-network. At the same time the 'effects' of the regulative sub-network are part of the group of effects with the highest number of responses, which was not the case in the 'rationale' network. Although the effect with the highest number of responses is related to work (improve students' situation...) the emphasis given by the teachers is weak and in the case of the effects of the regulative sub-network the majority of the entries are given with strong emphasis. It is clear that for the interviewed teachers the contribution of the CENS is instructional as well as regulative. However the emphasis is on the regulative effects. It is worth emphasising here that the focus within the regulative is on the social/individual category -communication/family, self-confidence and opportunity. We may understand these results as indicating an emphasis upon the self-development of the students' inner regulative personal features. From this point of view we may see the CENS fostering what we called a **social pedagogic identity** oriented to develop "general social skills for life" instead of an academic or vocational students' pedagogic identity.

When we look at the results of both networks, rationale and effects, by subject-area (general teachers and specialisation teachers) we find that there is no relevant difference between the teachers by subject-area in the instructional sub-network. However in the regulative sub-network the entries of the general teachers (12 teachers, 44 responses) are relatively more than the responses of the specialisation teachers (7 teachers, 20 responses). When we look at the distribution of responses in the category regulative/social we found that whereas the general teachers have 39 responses that fall under these categories the specialisation teachers have only 15 responses.

Looking at the responses by CENS we find two extremes: on the one hand CENS A and E (both with administrative oriented curricula) have their responses concentrated in the category regulative/ social (two thirds of the entries), at the other extreme CENS G (technical oriented curriculum) has the majority of the responses in the category instruc-

tional/ instrumental. In the rest of the CENS the responses have the same regulative emphasis that the overall results. However the highest figures for the category instructional/ instrumental/ work were given by all the interviewed teachers from CENS D and G (12 out of the 19 entries), and B, C and F teachers were who gave the moral responses. It also should be noted that the certificate category received entries from teachers of C, D, E, and G. The only CENS which has answers in the category regulative/ political is CENS G.

7.3.3 Summary on Effects

The distribution of responses we found in the 'rationale' network was different of that we found in the 'effects' network in both heads and teachers interviews. Whereas in the rationale network directors altogether gave similar emphasis to both instructional and regulative functions of the CENS, in the 'effects' network the emphasis was given to the regulative effects of the CENS. These results have some differences and some similarities with the findings we obtained from teachers. With respect to the functions of CENS teachers gave an instrumental emphasis whereas directors gave the same emphasis to both instructional and regulative functions. On the other hand, both teachers and directors answered that the actual effects of the CENS on the students were rather regulative than instructional. These findings are consistent with students' answers about what they received from the school, the great majority focused on regulative aspects. Yet there is a significant difference with the main aims and motives students had to do the course and the expectations they have when finishing. Students' most important aims were to continue their formation in further studies and to have the secondary level certificate. The propaedeutical function of the CENS had very low proportion in both teachers' and heads' views on rationales and effects. In the case of certificate the responses are significant but concentrated in four CENS, C, D, E, G, and only directors D, E, G gave this response in the effect network. Director C gave it in the rationale but not for the effects. Consistently the only teachers who gave responses coded in certificate were from C, D, E, and G.

All the directors seem to share the opinion that education itself is what CENS should give to the students and most of them strongly recognise regulative/social effects on the students. However we found differences among directors' answers. Directors of CENS

D, E and G are the only ones who gave responses coded in the rationale 'work' and they gave 9 out of the 12 entries in instrumental. These three directors gave no answers for 'social' as a rationale; the other four directors (A, B, C and F) gave responses coded in 'social'. This distinction becomes stronger when we look at the 'effects' results. The group of directors from CENS (A, B, C and F) gave weak emphasis to the responses coded in instrumental whereas the other three directors gave strong emphasis (particularly CENS G director who answered all the instrumental subcategories as strong emphasis). E behaves differently than D and G with respect to social as an effect where most of his responses were coded there, and with respect to social effect he gave similar responses to the group of A, B, C, F.

In the teachers effect responses CENS A and E teachers (both with administrative oriented curricula) have their responses concentrated in the category regulative/social (two thirds of the entries). And CENS G (technical oriented curriculum) has the majority of the teachers' responses in the category instructional/ instrumental. And for the category instructional/ instrumental/ work were mainly given by teachers from CENS D and G (12 out of the 19 entries).

It is worth stressing that the only responses for educationalist effects were given by D and G directors and these two directors where the only ones answering that CENS have political effects (both are technical oriented and have a union as CI), but only teachers from G gave such responses. On the other hand only three directors gave responses that were entered in the category moral: B, C and F. Also B, C and F teachers were who gave moral responses.

All the directors seem to share the opinion that education itself (quality, knowledge, basic skills) is what the CENS should give to the students. However, there seem to be two well define groups of directors regarding the rationale of the CENS. One group (CENS A, B, C and F) that emphasised social rationales. Other group (CENS D, E, G) that emphasised instrumental rationales particularly those related to work. But, as we said before, when analysing effects Mr. E gave strong emphasis on regulative/ social as well as instrumental, which was not the case of D and G.

Table 7.2: Main emphasis of CENS effects for heads and teachers by CENS

	Heads	Teachers
Instructional /educationalist	DG	DEG
Instructional/instrumental / work	DEG	DG
Instructional /instrumental /certificate	DEG	CDEG
Regulative /social	ABCEF	AEF
Regulative /political	DG	G
Regulative /Moral	BCF	BCF

Other interesting finding was that the differences between teachers by subject area were in the regulative sub-network and not in the instructional. In the regulative sub-network the entries of the general area teachers are more than the double of the responses of the specialisation teachers. But the distance is greater in the distribution of responses in the category regulative/ social where the general teachers have 39 responses, which fall in these categories, and the specialisation teachers have only 15 responses. This result reinforces our hypothesis that the general teachers focus their emphasis upon the regulative discourse whereas the specialisation teachers focus on instructional discourse.

7.4 Identity construction / production

In order to add information on the pedagogic identities, in this section we shall report findings about the ways that the staff see how the ‘effects’ they have reported are achieved, how satisfied they are with both the effects and the processes by which are constructed. Also we inquiry on staff views about what could be done to improve the work of the school. These findings, about the ‘how’ would add information to complete the description of the pedagogic identities themselves.

7.4.1 How does the school achieve its effects?

We asked teachers what the school ‘as a whole’ does to achieve the effects the interviewees described previously. In the analysis of the answers to this question we differentiated two levels of responses, one level refers to whether the school functions ‘as a

whole' does anything to achieve the effects; and the second level refers to what is done to achieve the effects.

Only the teachers from CENS D and G responded from the point of view of the school as a whole, it is THE CENS as such which "acts" to achieve aims and to have the effects it has. For the rest of the teachers the effects were the consequence of the teachers' individual action.

In CENS D teachers said that they agreed guidelines about how to teach adults, about the contents as well as the pedagogy (pace and expected standards). The interviewed teachers of CENS D said that "for the school" it is crucial to consider the students as adults who possess knowledge and who are working and have a family. In CENS G the three interviewed teachers answered that the school achieves its effects by constructing a working space in the school ("an academic and unionist space to learn"). Teachers of CENS G pointed out that they have monthly meetings in which they discuss about the school and the students, where they are trained and they agree shared strategies to face problems. A common element in both CENS is a consensus about how to work in the school. It is worth recalling here that to the question about the rationale/effect of the school the responses of the teachers of both CENS, D and G, were focused in the sub-category instructional/ instrumental/ work.

The answers of the 13 teachers of the other five CENS (A, B, C, E, F) who answered that it is what teachers individually do, and it is not the school as such, cannot be grouped by CENS but may be grouped by subject-area (general or specialisation). We find two groups of teachers: those teachers who answered that what they do in order to achieve their effects is simply to deliver knowledge to the students ("I only teach my subject") and the group of teachers who said that they mainly respect the rhythm at which the students learn. The teachers who answered that they delivered knowledge to the students (5 teachers) are teachers of the specialisation subject-area. Whereas the teachers who answered that what they do is to respect the rate at which the students learn are teachers of the general subject-area (8 teachers).

In those two CENS (D and G) where the interviewees recognise the school working as a whole, we are inclined to believe that the framing of the communication between teachers is weaker. We know from chapter 5 that particularly CENS G has a weaker classification of discourses than the rest of schools, and that in CENS D there is a tension to weaken the classification setting. In the other five CENS, at the level of staff communication, we are inclined to believe that the framing is rather strong between teachers, and we already know that the classification between subject discourses is strong.

7.4.2 Satisfaction and success of the school effects

We asked the teachers if they were satisfied with the effects of the school on the students and the reason for their satisfaction or dissatisfaction. The answers are equally distributed, 10 teachers responded that they are satisfied with the effects of the school and 9 responded that they are not satisfied.

It is very interesting that the majority of the responses (17 out of 19 responses) utilized one criterion: the academic standard. Irrespective whether the teachers responded that they were satisfied or dissatisfied with the effects of the school they referred to the academic level the school achieves. Those teachers who answered that they were satisfied responded that the academic level was what they expected or simply said that students acquired knowledge and skills they did not have at the beginning of the course. On the other hand the dissatisfied teachers said that the reason for their dissatisfaction was that the academic level was low or that at the end of the course the students do not improve their knowledge and skills.

Our findings here confirm the data we obtained in the teachers' questionnaire. The highest number of dissatisfied teachers is concentrated in the general subject-area teachers. 7 out of the 9 dissatisfied teachers were general teachers. Whereas the ten satisfied teachers were equally distributed between general and specialised teachers (we should remember that we interviewed 8 specialised teachers out of a total of 19 interviewees). All the teachers from CENS D and G answered they were satisfied with the effects in terms of the knowledge students acquire during the course.

We also asked directors about the forms by which the school achieves the effects heads considered the school has over the students and we query on heads satisfaction on the school level of achievement.

We shall examine the answers in the light of the directors' responses to the question about the contribution of the CENS to the students. We found a continuum from more regulative to more instructional / instrumental stances. That will be the sequence in which we will present directors' responses. We shall inform each director's responses because we consider they are important in order to have a sense of the variations. For each director we shall show, between brackets, the options we coded in the "effects" network.

Mr. A (effects: self-confidence, pastoral) responded that they take care of the students, the director summarises: "despite the teaching we give love to them". (administrative oriented, CI union)

Mr. F (effects: communication, self-confidence, pastoral, opportunity, integration, civilise) responded that they achieve the mentioned effects through particular subjects "Social Catholic Dogma", "Civic education". (social work oriented, CI catholic bishopric)

Mr. C (effects: communication, self confidence, opportunity, civilise) responded that they take care of the students and that they "expose" students to "culture" going to the cinema and theatre. (administrative oriented, CI State National Administration)

Mrs. B (effects: communication, self-confidence, pastoral, discipline) answered that they know each student through the diagnosis they make at the beginning of the year (TIID). The other element this director considered is the pace of learning: "if students need more time because they are slow I expect the teachers to respect that". (social work oriented, CI union)

Mr. E (effects: work, certificate, communication, pastoral, integration) sustained that they have clear criteria about standards in adult education so they do not ask for impossible tasks to the students. He added that "the staff knows how to teach someone who

knows things and who is working and who has a family to take care of.” (administrative oriented, CI civil association)

Mr. D (effects: knowledge, work, higher education, communication, self-confidence, opportunity, political) responded “we work very hard and we try to be updated in our technology and the software that is used in the market”. (technical oriented, CI union)

Mr. G (effects: knowledge, basic skills, work, higher education, certificate, political) answered that they have a good curriculum relating the subjects to the curriculum orientation and the every day life of the students, he selects very carefully the teachers for each subject and that “the kind of teaching we deliver here is education for ‘work’ not for ‘a job. Here the students ask for knowledge. The adults know how to defend themselves and I give the room for that.” (technical oriented, CI union)

We can note that in all the cases there is consistency between the effects directors gave in the first question and the forms they recognise of achieving those effects. The continuum we mentioned before goes from the Mr. A that sustained “we give love to the students” (strong regulative emphasis) to the Mr. G who answered that they have a good curriculum relating subjects and he selects teachers for each subject (strong instructional emphasis). It is interesting to note that the regulative emphasis given by the directors may be realised through social relations within the school (CENS A and C), extra-school activities (CENS C) as well as through specific syllabus (CENS F: Social Catholic Dogma) or considering the pace of the students (CENS B).

Heads were asked whether they were satisfied with the contribution of the CENS to the students. Four directors (C, D, E and G) answered that they are satisfied; the other three interviewed directors (A, B and F) responded they are dissatisfied with the effects of the school on the students. The given arguments for supporting the satisfaction or dissatisfaction vary in each case. Within the group of satisfied directors three of them (CENS D, E and G) gave similar responses that may be summarised in one director’s answer: “Although we have a lot of deficits and we would like to have higher standards, the majority of our ex-students either got a job or they continued their studies in further education.” CENS C director used other kind of criterion. He an-

swered that he has a well-established staff and the building where the CENS is working it is a comfortable one in contrast to the previous building of the CENS, which the director characterised as “a cave”.

The three directors who answered they are dissatisfied with the school effects gave different responses when they were asked for the reasons of their dissatisfaction. CENS A director answered: “Five or ten years ago we were closer to students. We used to talk about everything. We were friends. Now students just want the certificate.” This director seems to expect social relations to be improved. CENS B director answered that the CENS has a lot of “discipline problems” regarding both students and teachers. The director of CENS F responded that they “should rise the academic standards of the school”, because it is very low. This is the only director of the dissatisfied group who would like to raise the academic standard whereas he gave a regulative emphasis in the “effects” and how the CENS achieve them.

When directors were asked about successes B and F talked about social relations, which is interesting because both recognised having some trouble with teachers and not being very well communicated with students. A, C and E talked about continuity of the CENS (which were “threatened” with closing for lack of students, in terms of numbers), Mr. E put it as “to maintain the school alive”. D and G centred their responses in rather instructional outcomes like “students getting jobs” or “learning”. When responding about failures Mr. A said “the low standard might be a problem”, he raised these rather more academic issues. Mrs. B could not give failures, just saying as a negative things she works “too much” or that she has to be “able not to worry too much” about what is going on, in a self indulgence sense. Mr. F said his major failure was not to be able to conduct teachers properly, he talked about his lack in communication with students and later on recognised “May be I can do more here, but I do not have time”. He also answered that one of his failures is a lack in communication with students and “being paternalist, doing everything without leaving space for the others to do”.

7.4.3 Teachers subject contribution

As a final element to the description on the identity production in CENS we shall report here the outcomes from two questions made to teachers that are related to the

contributions that they consider their own subjects make to the students in the frame of the school effects. One of the questions was “What do you think is the main contribution your subject is making to the students?”. We also asked whether teachers considered that they succeeded in making their contribution.

As we can see in the network below it received 81 entries distributed across the network. The sub-network **instructional** has 51 entries whereas the sub-network **regulative** has 30 entries. Within **instructional**, general education received 30 entries and work 21. The options that received the highest number of responses are the following:

- 12 - instructional/general education/ information
- 12 - instructional/work/ skills
- 10 - regulative/domestic
- 9 - instructional/general education/basic skills
- 9 - instructional/general education/ forms of thinking

It is important to note that four out of the five categories with most entries belong to the sub-network **instructional** and three of them belong to instructional/ general education. These results seem to be consistent with the result of the analysis of the network “school rationale” where the emphasis was also instructional. Despite the emphasis upon general education (30 entries) it is of some importance that 10 of the 19 teachers responded that their subject contributed to the domestic life of the students. It is relevant to compare these results emphasising the instructional value of the subject with the results of the analysis of the effects of the school upon the students where the emphasis was regulative rather than instructional.

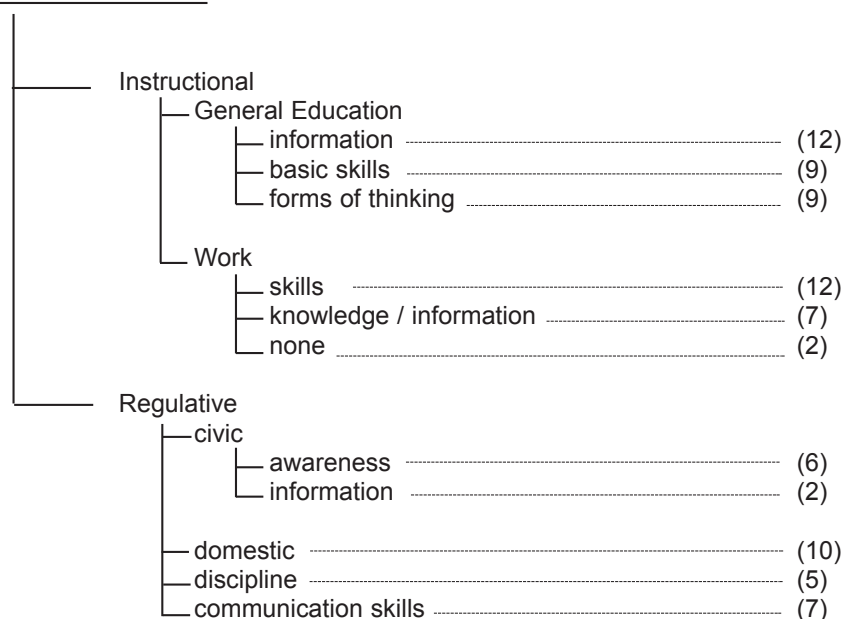
The distribution of entries by CENS reveal that CENS D and G teachers were who gave the large majority of responses entered in work/ skills and work/ information. None of these teachers gave responses entered in regulative / domestic and regulative / discipline. These last categories received responses from the other five CENS (A, B, C, E, F), 15 entries.

When we examined the distribution of entries by subject-area we found that the general subject teachers gave, relatively speaking, more responses (21 entries by 11 teachers) that were allocated to the regulative sub-network than the specialisation subject-area teachers (9 responses by 8 teachers). Furthermore, when we look at the distribution of responses within the instructional the general teachers emphasised general education with 21 entries and only 11 responses to work (these eleven responses were mainly given by general area teachers of CENS D and G). Whereas the specialisation teachers' entries are equally distributed: 9 responses to general education and 10 to work. These results confirm our hypothesis that the general teachers are less instrumental and more regulative than their specialised colleagues.

When we asked teachers whether they thought they were successful in transmitting their subject all teachers answered that they were successful. No one had any doubt of his or her contribution. However the majority of the interviewees said that they would like to achieve higher standards.

Network 7.3:

Subject contribution (teachers)

SUBJECT CONTRIBUTION

7.4.4 Summary on identity construction / production

Only the teachers of CENS D and G acknowledged that the effects are achieved by the work of the school as a whole organization. The rest of the teachers responded that the achievement is due to the individual work of each teacher. Here we found two different arguments, which were related to the subject area of the teachers: general teachers related their contribution with relaxing the pace of teaching, whereas specialized teachers said that they just deliver the knowledge they must.

The criterion utilized by the large majority of teachers on responses about satisfaction (both satisfied, 10 teachers, and dissatisfied, 9 teachers) was the academic standard achievement. 7 out of the 9 dissatisfied teachers were general teachers. All the teachers from CENS D and G answered they were satisfied with the effects in terms of the knowledge students acquire during the course. This academic criterion contrasted with the regulative emphasis given by teachers about the effects of the CENS.

With respect to heads' stances about how the school achieves its effects we constructed a continuum from more regulative to more instructional / instrumental. The order of directors following the continuum from strong regulative emphasis to strong instructional emphasis is: A – F – C – B – E – D – G. This result has to be connected with the responses on effects; we found consistency between the effects and the forms of achieving them. Four directors (C, D, E and G) answered that they are satisfied; the other three interviewed directors (A, B and F) responded they are dissatisfied with the effects of the school on the students.

Directors D, E and G gave similar responses related to instrumental and instructional accomplishment (graduates got a job or continue studying in further education). Mr. C gave a response related to stability in terms of staff and facilities. Within the dissatisfied group of heads, Mr. A and Mrs. B were dissatisfied for regulative issues (social relations and discipline) whereas F was the only dissatisfied whose argument was the low academic standard.

About the level of success B and F centred on social relations although both recognised having troubles on this area. A, C and E talk about continuity and some stability of the school. D and G centred again their responses in rather instructional outcomes.

The analysis of the questions about teachers subject contribution gave as a result that the focus of all the responses was mainly instructional but with significant evidences of regulative contributions. The criterion teachers used to evaluate satisfaction with the effects of the school was clearly instructional, academic achievement. General subject teachers focused their answers on regulative features whereas specialised teachers focused their answers on instructional/instrumental features.

The distribution of entries by CENS reveal that CENS D and G teachers were who gave the large majority of responses entered in work / skills and work / information and none of these teachers gave responses entered in regulative / domestic and regulative / discipline. Teachers of the other five CENS A, B, C, E, F gave responses that fall in domestic and discipline, which confirms the outcomes from heads about effects.

7.5 CENS institutional identity

We were interested to find out what teachers and heads thought about the CENS in comparison with other schools and what about their own CENS compared with other CENS. Did the teachers and heads have a concept of their CENS as having a particular institutional identity and did they have a concept of CENS as such as a distinct educational sub-system.

We asked teachers: "How do you think is your experience here compared with other type of schools in which you have taught?". There was a strong common denominator to all teachers' answers: the students are adults, they want to attend the course, they are motivated, and that there are no disciplinary problems which are an obstacle to teach, as teachers find working with teenagers in standard secondary schools.

We also asked: "What do you think identifies or differentiates this CENS from others?". One criterion used by the interviewees was the social climate that is present in the school.

Using this criterion we grouped the CENS into two groups: in CENS A, B, F where teachers reported there was a bad social climate characterised by tensions in the staff, tensions with the director and between the director and students; on the other hand CENS D, E and G teachers said that they feel “comfortable” working in the school, that they had freedom and they felt they belonged to a team. The teachers’ responses of the second group had another common feature: at least two out of the three interviewees of each school said that the CI of the CENS gives a specific identity to the school, CENS D and G have a union CI and CENS E has a civil association as CI. These teachers responded saying “we are a union CENS” or an “association CENS”. Teachers from the two technical oriented CENS, D and G, stated that the curriculum orientation of the CENS is another feature which gives a particular identity to the school.

Teachers from CENS C gave the only different response. These teachers considered that the distinctive feature of the CENS was that the staff works hard and that they are highly demanded by the head.

It is important to stress the fact that teachers’ responses to the question about the feature that differentiate the CENS from others were very similar within each school.

D, E, G related the identity of the CENS with their CI. D and G added that their CENS identity is that their job is to educate and train workers with a specific unionist point of view. E added that the students they have are not received in other CENS because of their low social condition. In a same form A and F responded that they work with marginalized people. In these three cases A, E, F, the identity is given by the type of students (this was a second consideration after the CI identity). B and C talked about hard working staff, as an identity of the CENS.

In order to complete a picture of institutional identity we asked teachers their motives for working in a CENS (questions number 77 and 78). Seventeen out of the nineteen interviewees answered that they preferred to work with adults rather than with teenagers because working with adults there are no disciplinary problems and because adults are motivated to study which does not seem to be the case with teenagers. Only two teachers said that they worked in CENS only because they needed the money, and as the CENS

works at evening they can have more teaching hours. Five interviewees added to their answers that they worked in CENS because of ideological and political positions related to the transmission of knowledge to workers, to people who have been marginalised by the educational system. This last finding is of some importance for two reasons: because contrary to our expectations few teachers gave answers entailing a political position. Furthermore the five teachers who gave a political response belonged to three CENS: D (two teachers), E (one) and G (two).

7.6 Discussion on pedagogic identities

The first outstanding result we have reported on this chapter comes out from the students' voice: their expected future of continuing studies in further education. It might not be significant itself, it stresses a function of the CENS which is present in the official documents as one of the aims of this type of schools. However, a propaedeutical function is not the main goal within the official pedagogic discourse, but rather the formation of adult people as "workers facing economical crisis and the new challenges of the labour market". But it is also of major significance that it is not an aim for teachers and most of the heads, from their point of view it is not a feasible future for the majority of CENS students.

From the teachers questionnaires we know that half of the teachers recognised higher education is an aim for the school but it is not for them as teachers. We also know from the focus group that teachers believe that is unlikely for CENS graduates to survive on higher education and in the interviews to teachers it did not come out. From the heads responses we know that only for D and G it is an effect of the school, further only these two heads referred to further studies as a sign of success of the CENS work. The rest of the heads did not consider it.

We consider that this result is connected with a motive students had to start the course and a major expectation, which is to obtain the secondary level certificate. Only teachers and heads from C, D, E, G gave positive responses to certificate as a positive effect and motivation. Heads B and F valued negatively the pursue on "just" the certificate. In the case of C director and teachers the certificate was strictly connected with the fact

that their students are civil servants of the national State and it has a meaning in their job career, even in terms of rising their salary.

We think that when students expect to continue in higher education and they have the aim of obtaining the certificate they are “reading” the context in relation to the phenomenon of credential inflation (Boudon, 1974). And at the same time, from students’ point of view, this might give them a relative better position in the future in terms of social and work status.⁹¹ Also these findings from the students’ perspective sustain the hypothesis already presented that CENS are mainly working as a repair system in order to finish the “uncompleted business” of secondary education.

The staff of CENS which emphasised instructional instrumental effects (mainly D and G, plus E with a weaker strength) is the same who gave more positional and instructional elements when we discussed the classificatory principles for the students. It is consistent that in these CENS certificate and higher education are considered positive effects of the school. On the other hand in those CENS where the main classificatory principles for students are based in moral, discipline, regulative elements it is reasonable that the effects have a regulative focus and they are sceptic about a future in further education. We will come back to this later.

Another important finding was the differences we found in the results when rationales of the CENS and its effects are compared. In the responses of teachers we found more variations but also in the heads interviews. The main difference is that there is recognition of the instructional rationale of the CENS, by both heads and teachers but more by teachers, but when we analysed the results of effects of the schools, the emphasis was more regulative and we also found variations among the sampled schools.

If we consider rationale responses as an indicator of the staff identification of official pedagogic discourse, we could see that education itself plus instrumental aspects (work and certificate) constitute the main orientation of the CENS. In the particular case of the teachers rationales are concentrated in instrumental (work and certificate, not in higher

⁹¹ For the Argentinean case see: Filmus (2001); Gallart (2006); Monza (2002); Orellano y Rosendo (2004); Riquelme (2000a); Riquelme (2000b); Riquelme(2004); Tenti Fanfani (2003).

education). In the overall responses of the heads, there is a recognition of a double function of the CENS in terms of the rationale: instructional / instrumental plus regulative / social.

We will look now to what we have already quoted⁹² from CENS regulation where it portrays the policy bases for these schools. It sustains that:

“The systematic adult education does not only constitute an improvement of individual expectations. It represents a need of any country that, in the beginning of the twenty-first century, intends to insert itself in the high level of knowledge and production that the contemporary world requires.” (Secretaría de Educación CBA, 1994) Our translation.

The introduction states two major aims for CENS: “*to improve the labour situation of the adult people and to open the access to further education*”. The rationale for both aims is related, following the text of the regulation, with “*the high levels of unemployment, the economic crisis and the development of new technologies*”. The combination of those elements in the Argentinean context “*makes the secondary level certification a key element in order to improve the quality of life of adult population*.” In the regulation there is no specific reference to the demand of particular economical sectors neither to the relation with the CIs.

Under the light of Bernstein’s (2000) development of official pedagogic identities, we analyse the rationales given by the staff, as an indicator of the official pedagogic discourse, and the statements quoted above from the regulation. We think that in terms of official discourse and official pedagogic identities we might be facing what Bernstein called “Prospective Pedagogic Identities” (Bernstein, 2000; 67-68).

He characterizes Prospective Pedagogic identities as:

“this identity is constructed **to deal with cultural, economic and technological change**. Prospective identities are shaped by selective recontextualizing of features of the past to defend or raise economic performance.” (Bernstein, 2000; 67. Original emphasis).

⁹² It should be said that we do not use more textual elements from the regulation because, unfortunately for us, it does not have any more information than that we have already quoted.

However the Argentinean case, and specifically the CENS, differs from what Bernstein witnessed and referred was happening in England. Neither in the regulation nor in the data we have collected at schools there is a strong control of the State over inputs and outputs. He argued that this identity “emphasises upon performances which have an exchange value” (Ibid. 68), that is why he considered that the management of State control would focus on inputs and outputs.

We consider that discursively and in the order created by the official discourse, in terms of the structure of the curriculum (60% general education and 40% specialised related to curriculum orientation) and the syllabi (designed over the bases of disciplines with strong connection with the regular secondary education sub-system for teenagers), we can use for our case the concept of prospective pedagogic identity. However, more analysis is needed in terms of its realizations at the school level, the field of reproduction, as we did not find the same social bases in all our cases and differences were also found in relation to the social bases those of the official pedagogic discourse.

In order to complete the ideas we have been developing and to stress some differences of both CENS and Argentina to that which Bernstein studied in Britain, we should remind that CENS, were created in the early seventies under the ideology of “developing economies”. During the educational reform of the 1990s they were not at the centre of the state policies with regard to respond to short term demands of the economy and the labour market. Other programs for youth and adults, closer to vocational programs in Europe, were the “stars” of the reform particularly in the second half of the 1990s. These vocational programs were conducted by the Ministry of Labour (and they did not provide secondary level certificates), whereas CENS remained dependent of the Ministry of Education and, particularly, from the Department of Adult Education (DEAyA). The agents who form the staff of the DEAyA, and who wrote the regulation, were part of the same group that created the CENS back in the 1970s. So we think that the “selected past” of the official prospective pedagogic identity goes back to collective bases of that time, which is not the same “selected past” of the neoconservative movements and New Labour in Britain that Bernstein described. Hence we think that within the official pedagogic discourse there is a strong bias to consider CENS as a repair system, a meaning

that students got in the right way, in terms of the official discourse and the social bases of the identity.

Now looking to the realization of the pedagogic discourse in the sampled schools two main groups of schools came out with respect to effects, and what we now translate into the pedagogic identities of the reproduced pedagogic discourse, one more instructional oriented and other more regulative oriented. For the purpose of the next analysis we will hold these two groups although the reported data in this chapter gave us new elements to describe variations within each group, we shall discuss those differences later on.

On the one hand we obtained a group with an emphasis on instrumental / instructional effects: D, E, G; on the other hand we obtained a group with an emphasis on social / regulative effects: A, B, C, F. As we said before this grouping is consistent with both external relations and the pedagogic code and pedagogic discourse realised in the schools, which we have described in the two previous chapters. The main difference was located in the consideration of work and higher education for the first group and the emphasis in social / regulative elements in the second group. These differences about the effects of the schools were also found when we analysed results related to how the school achieves the effects and the contribution that teachers perceive their subjects were doing to the school effects (in reference to subject contribution the only difference we found was in CENS E teachers, and we will discuss this variation later).

In terms of sources of the pedagogic identities of these two groups it can be considered that we have on one side a group with an instrumental pedagogic identity which has as the main sources the orientation to work and the orientation to further education, that we may call academic. On the other side, a group with a social / regulative pedagogic identity which main source is the orientation to social skills, in terms of skills for life, communication skills, with an inner orientation in self-confidence. So we have two distinct pedagogic identities; one instrumental and the other one social.

We would like to discuss and try a new conceptualization of these pedagogic identities under the light of the pedagogic identities developed by Bernstein, as we have done with the official pedagogic identity. In a first view, none of the four pedagogic identities

constructed by Bernstein (2000) perfectly fit in the description we made of the sampled CENS pedagogic identities. We would like to stress that what follows is an exercise towards the construction of the language of description and a first approach to discuss the available internal language of the theory, which will not be completed and theoretically closed. We believe that to have a most accurate language more empirical research must be done and collective discussion is needed.

With respect to the group of CENS with instrumental pedagogic identity we can identify it shares some elements with the Bernstein's "de-centred market" (DCM) pedagogic identity (Bernstein, 2000; 69) and there are other elements the author described that are not present in our case.⁹³

The CENS with an instrumental pedagogic identity shares the following features with the model of DCM: The product of the identity has an exchange value in the market, the focus is on the extrinsic rather the intrinsic, there is exploration of vocational applications rather than exploration of the deep structure of knowledge. The institutions that produce this identity have considerable autonomy over the use of budget, organisation of the discourse, ways of using and selecting staff as well as selecting courses (curriculum orientation in our case). The identity is constructed upon external demands particularly from the labour market and it is driven by external contingencies. The management is likely to be explicitly hierarchical and based upon small, non-elected committees. The culture facilitates the survival of the fittest following standards set by market demands.

The instrumental pedagogic identity as we found it does not share other elements with the DCM model. Although we acknowledge the focus is on the extrinsic rather on the intrinsic, the short-term knowledge is not necessarily present, the transmission of knowledge is not centred exclusively on skills for a job, and there is an extension of the identity towards further studies and value of the knowledge over the intrinsic. The identity produced by these CENS does not necessarily dissolve commitment and collective based identities, which can be explained by the regulative discourse of their CIs (particularly the union CIs). We did not find evidence of the instrumental identity producing competitive

⁹³ The following description of elements are taken from Bernstein (2000, 69-71) for the sake of the exposition we will not quote each element.

subjects or based upon competitive social basis. In this sense what we have in our study is a de-centred instrumental pedagogic identity with influences of therapeutic identities. Some elements of co-operative modality relations were found and tensions toward integration of knowing, as well as it takes in its construction local elements of the students' context and positions which are not directly connected to the market.

Finally, in order to confirm this **instrumental de-centred pedagogic** identity we can add that students from these three schools (D, E, G) were the ones who identified specialised subjects as those from which they learn more and were more useful for them with an instrumental orientation.

On the other hand we had the **social pedagogic identity**. This, in function of the location of the resources as Bernstein states (2000; 66), seems to be close to those identities generated by "centring" resources managed by the State. The CENS that produce the social pedagogic identity cannot be described as autonomous institution in terms of the bias of their pedagogic discourse and in terms of management of material resources. Considering Bernstein construction of those identities drawn from central national discourses, we think that social pedagogic identity is a sort of complex insertion of a retrospective identity in a prospective pedagogic identity (as that of the official pedagogic discourse for CENS). With respect to the retrospective elements there is a reference to a low or null influence of any direct exchange with the economy and the focus is on discursive inputs from the past, strongly bounded and hierarchically organised (as general subjects over specialised subjects) segmented and serially organized subjects, the individual career is of less interest, with a main focus on "basic skills" (Bernstein, 2000; 66-67, 71). In our case these basic skills are those of a social discipline with some insertion of 'vocational' elements. We risk our analysis suggesting that these retrospective elements are inserted in a prospective identity, which focuses with issues of economic performance. Although we believe that the main focus is upon skills for life and indirectly on skills for the "world of work", those skills for life are inserted in some economic performance demanded by society. Here we may combine the responses of students of these CENS on getting regulative elements most of humanist general subjects with a general orientation of students towards higher education and through getting the secondary level certificate, both in the attempt to improve their situation.

On the light of these elements on identity we would like to go back to the discussion on modalities of pedagogic practice we made at the end of the previous chapter, which started in chapter 5 on transmission. We said that the CI+ had close relation with a market-oriented modality whereas CI- had some features of an autonomous pedagogic modality. Here we take advantage of the development Bernstein (2000) did in chapter 3 “Pedagogising knowledge: studies in Recontextualization” where he rewrites a different and enriched model for the pedagogic modalities which he started in 1977 with the article on visible and invisible pedagogies.

The table below (Bernstein, 2000; 45) summarises the main characteristics of competence and performance models. In the case of our study the pedagogic modalities have the general features described by Bernstein for the performance modality as we can elicit from the code values and descriptions made in previous chapters.

“Recontextualised knowledge”

	<i>Competence Models</i>	<i>Performance models</i>
1. <i>Categories</i>		
<i>space</i>	<i>weakly classified</i>	<i>strongly classified</i>
<i>time</i>		
<i>Discourse</i>		
2. <i>Evaluation orientation</i>	<i>presences</i>	<i>Absences</i>
3. <i>Control</i>	<i>implicit</i>	<i>Explicit</i>
4. <i>Pedagogic text</i>	<i>acquirer</i>	<i>Performance</i>
5. <i>Autonomy</i>	<i>high</i>	<i>low / high</i>
6. <i>Economy</i>	<i>high cost</i>	<i>low cost</i>

(Bernstein, 2000; 45)

Bernstein defines:

“Performance modes focus upon something that the acquirer does not possess, upon an absence, and as a consequence place the emphasis upon the text to be acquired and so upon the transmitter.” (Bernstein, 2000; 57)

“Performance modes and **especially their change** are more directly linked to the economy although they clearly have symbolic control functions.” (Bernstein, 2000; 54 Original emphasis)

In the case of the CI+, or now, CENS producing instrumental de-centred pedagogic identities seems to be clear that the pedagogic modality of these CENS is very close to

that described by Bernstein as a performance modality in the generic mode (Bernstein, 2000; 53, 55, 58-59). For Bernstein the focus of generic modes addresses extra school experiences of 'work' and 'life'.

"What is 'similar' in the case of generic modes is a set of general skills underlying a range of specific performances. Thus generic modes and the performances that they give rise are directly linked to instrumentalities of the market, to the construction of what are considered to be flexible performances. From this point of view their identity is constructed by procedures of projection despite superficial resemblance to competence modes." (Bernstein, 2000; 55)

But Bernstein sees in the generic modes

"not simply economic pedagogic procedures of acquisition but are based on a new concept of 'work' and 'life', which might be called 'short-termism'. This is where a skill, task, area of work, undergoes continuous development, disappearance or replacement; where life experience cannot be based upon stable expectation of the future and one's location in it. Under these circumstances it is considered that a vital new ability must be developed: 'trainability', the ability to profit from continuous pedagogic re-formations and so cope with the new requirements of 'work' and 'life'." (Bernstein, 2000; 58-59)

The key to trainability

"... is the ability to be taught, the ability to respond effectively to concurrent, subsequent, or intermittent pedagogies. Cognitive and social processes are to be especially developed in the actor for such a pedagogised future. However, the ability to respond to such a future depends not upon an ability but upon a capacity." (Bernstein, 2001; 366)

In this context the world of work is translated pedagogically into life long learning.

However in the case of CENS in the Argentinean context some of the features of the generic mode are not present. One is that of the behaviourist theory of learning / instruction, other the functional analysis for translating skills into pedagogic units and the control of the outputs through evaluation was neither found in our study. Bernstein also says that trainability produced a "socially empty" identity, emptiness which makes the concept self-referential and excluding. We think that this emptiness is not realised in the instrumental de-centred pedagogic identity and the modality of pedagogy that we described in CENS CI+. However it might be a tension in the local realization of the pedagogic discourses and codes.

In the case of the social pedagogic identities CENS (CI-) that we connected with the autonomous pedagogic modality, not a single mode of the performance models generated by Bernstein fit perfectly. We tend to think that the singular mode is the closest to the pedagogic modality of these CENS. But the pedagogic modality found does not focus on the transmission of knowledge oriented to their own development, although it is structured upon discipline. We think that the configuration of this identity (retrospective inserted in a projected identity) is a kind of performance mode based on what Hickox and Moore (1995) define as “liberal-humanistic” education.

“Typically, liberal-humanist forms of education stress general and defuse objectives such as developing ‘character’, realising ‘inner potential’, ‘self-actualisation’ or ‘rational autonomy’.”

“...the general features of ‘liberal-humanistic’ education as involving:

- the philosophical view that education is intrinsically worthwhile rather than simply a means to an end such as economic efficiency or respect for traditional values,
- a broad definition of the role of the teacher as being concerned with the moral and spiritual aspects of ‘the whole person’ and not simply with imparting a narrow range of skills and /or knowledge, and
- support for a high degree of professional autonomy for teachers, educationalists and educational institutions.” (Hickox and Moore, 1995; 49)

For these authors the liberal-humanist education can move from traditionalism to progressivism, and left its social origins in middle-class recruitment to state bureaucracies in the XIX century. We tend to think that a way to conceptualize the pedagogic modality of the CI-CENS would be an insertion of the principles of the ‘liberal-humanist’ education into some sections of the generic mode, which might be regulated externally from the official pedagogic discourse and internally from the type of students’ own local identities.

Now we will turn our final discussion on the pedagogic discourse of the sampled schools taking the results of pedagogic identities we have reported in this chapter. The results about effects give us access to principles of the pedagogic discourse. These results gave us information to clarify some elements of the variations within the two main groupings of CENS we have been working out.

We found that CENS E came out in various aspects of our analysis differentiated from the other two CENS (D, G) with which share most of the characteristics. It was in the analysis of effects and the forms that the school work to achieve those effects where we

found some elements that make possible the description of the difference. CENS E staff concentrated their responses about effects on regulative / social categories and only some gave responses for instrumental / work, non for educationalist effects, neither to the regulative / political category. CENS E director did give responses to work, certificate, communication, pastoral, and integration; there were no mention to knowledge, skills, higher education, political which were stated by D and G heads.

When teachers were questioned about satisfaction and if the school works as a whole in achieving the effects, CENS E teachers responded that they are dissatisfied with the effects and that the school does not work as a whole, but teachers working individually (and we know from the previous chapter that E has difficulties in creating consensus among the staff). From previous chapters we already know that within the CI+ group CENS E is the one which has less support from its CI and it is the one which made, comparatively, less changes on the curriculum. The strength of discourse classification is also the strongest among the group. When we analysed the classificatory principle for students it came out that within the group of instructional emphasis it has a regulative emphasis as well. All these code and discursive features assist us to explain the variation within the group and the pedagogic identity with important social elements.

Within the CI+ group it was clear that CENS G was the one where we found most consistencies between head, teachers and students responses. It is clearly the most vocational oriented with the highest support from the CI, highest level of consensus and clear instructional emphasis with a strong presence of the unionist discourse of the CI in the regulative discourse.

In the other group, CI- we found that there is a variation between A and F, on one side, and B, C, on the other. A and F are those with highest bias on social / regulative within the group. Both have weak control of the relation with staff and students, and a more regulative oriented discourse particularly referred to social life skills. B and C have strong control focused on regulative aspects for both teachers and students and share a general education oriented discourses with some elements of basic skills for work. A and F both gave a negative value to employed students because this type of students have much problems to study, unlike the unemployed. Within the group we had in chap-

ter 5 on constrained freedom related to room to make changes in curriculum and syllabi, A and F stated being satisfied with the curriculum and B and C were dissatisfied.

In this research area, differences between general and specialisation teachers also came out and clarified results we have already analysed in previous chapters. The general subject area teachers have a great concern in regulative effects on the students. As we said this result reinforces our hypothesis that general teachers focus their emphasis upon the regulative discourse whereas specialisation teachers focus on instructional discourse. Furthermore, within the instructional responses general teachers emphasised general education whereas specialisation teachers were equally distributed between general education and work.

These results should be connected with those reported in chapter 5 with reference to teachers' aims of teaching. Although there was a general instructional bias in the responses of teachers about their aims for teaching it is important that most teachers gave regulative responses as well, and these were mainly general subject teachers.

As we stated before, the voice of general area teachers produces messages trying to reinforce the general education orientation of the transmission at CENS rather than a vocational orientation, which we can now see from the point of view of the identity production. It can be considered that the regulative emphasis of general area teachers might have an external regulation from the official pedagogic discourse, in the forms that we have already discussed above.

The reported findings will be reconsidered and the discussion will be enriched in the next chapter about our last area of research, possibilities of change.

8. POSSIBILITIES OF CHANGE

8.1 Introduction

This is the final chapter of the data analysis and discussion, previous to our final elaboration of the thesis. Here we shall be reporting and discussing about change potential, an area of our topology that constitutes a key element in the internal language of description, which was referred in the theoretical context. Change potential is a key dimension to be described and the language of description should be capable to distinguish between change and variation. This area of research is concerned to understand the possibilities of change in the sampled schools and how those possibilities are produced.

Here we are concerned with the description of sites and orientations of the possibilities of change, the sources of those possibilities, the tensions and the contradictions that generate a space of possibilities of change and whether change has some bias or orientations in a given realization of pedagogic codes and discourses.

As we said in the research strategy, although we designed a specific area of research to describe change potential, it was examined (and came out) across the other three areas of research (transmission, institutional relationships and pedagogic identities). It is important to stress that besides the presence of issues related with change in the other areas we think that change should be a dimension to be described on its own, therefore we set as part of our research instruments specific questions and addressed specific elements of the empirical data in order to describe it.

Hence we shall firstly summarise some of the major findings already reported in previous chapters, then we shall present the data collected as part of this area of research and finally we shall discuss on change potential considering all the data together.

In the table 8.1 below we present in one single chart a general picture of the main findings we have already reported and discussed, taking the risk of any schematic presentation which might have a lack in delicacy. However, this might help to relate the reported findings with those about possibilities of change which will be analysed and discussed in this chapter.

Table 8.1: Synopsis of main findings discussed

	++	+	-	--
External Framing (CENS – State)	DG	E		ABCF
External Framing (CENS – CI)	AB	CF	E	DG
Internal Classification of discourses (general/ specialized)	A C F	B	E	DG
Internal framing, Head – teacher	G	D E	B C	A F
Internal framing teacher - teacher	A B C F	E		D G
Regulative emphasis of pedagogic discourse	A C F	B	E	DG
Instructional emphasis of pedagogic discourse	D G	E	B	A C F
Social pedagogic identity	A F	A E F		D G
Instrumental pedagogic identity	D G	E	B C	A F

8.2 Summary of the presence of “change” in other areas of research: transmission, institutional relationships and pedagogic identity

In the research area of transmission one of the most important findings with respect to change (and variation) was the difference we found in the realization of the official pedagogic discourse in the CENS, in terms of curricula and syllabi. As a result of the analysis we obtained two groups of schools, those which have made changes (D, E, G) and those that have not made changes (A, B, C, F). These two groups were also categorised (because they matched with the previous classification) in terms of heads perception on freedom to make changes. Within each group we found variations on the mean-

ings given to the possibility of changing, and in the first group we also found variation on the type and degree of changes.

Within the group of CENS where we did not find curriculum and syllabi changes two heads, A and F, were satisfied with the curriculum, whereas B and C were dissatisfied. Also we categorised this group as “constrained freedom” because they shared the idea that within the framework of the official regulation some changes could be done at the level of the syllabi, however we did not find significant differences with the official syllabi. On the other hand, within the group of those that have made changes we found that all of them were dissatisfied with the official curriculum and syllabi, but variations on the changes they have made came out. In chapter 7 we obtained a form to describe and we intended to explain the relation between the external relations of CENS with the CI, the room of discretion heads have and changes in the curriculum and syllabi.

Most of the teachers (particularly from general area) were dissatisfied with the syllabi and they are not subject of direct control (over the teaching), but they have strong constraints (work context plus knowledge and training, and the amount of available time in CENS) in order to modify the contents to teach. Also in some schools we found that the teachers felt that the control over regulative elements from their head is also a constraint for modifying forms of teaching. In previous chapters we reported that teachers and heads made no reference to pedagogy as an area that they would change. There were references about the lack of material resources as a constraint over pedagogy by most of the teachers.

With regard to assessment teachers did not identify it as something to be changed and, those heads that were not satisfied sustained that teachers do their best. From the point of view of the students only 46 (35%) students out of the 132 questioned said they would like some change in evaluation. In two CENS (A and F) have about half of the students answering they want changes in evaluation, which also represents almost the half of the overall responses for change of the evaluation form. Looking at the distribution among all the schools, answers for change mainly were given by students of four CENS; A, B, C and F (36 -78%- out of the 46).

In the institutional relationship area of research internal social relationships were object of dissatisfaction in four CENS (A, B, C, F) and teachers and heads referred as an area to be changed and improved. Teachers from CENS B, C reported that their heads were authoritarian, and they wanted a change in the director's management style to a weaker control particularly over social relations and discipline and a more relaxed and fair form of treating students.

With respect to the external relationships no clear demand for change was found in staff. Some elements were pointed out regarding more pedagogic assistance from the State (particularly inspectors). In the external relation with the CI most of the heads and teachers were happy despite of whether the school had a strong or weak relation with the CI.

In the former chapter, on pedagogic identities, we obtained information about satisfaction with the effects of the school from heads and teachers. Teachers responded using an instructional criterion related to academic standard. Those dissatisfied were mainly general area teachers. In two CENS (D, G) all the interviewed answered that they were satisfied with the results of the school in terms of transmission of knowledge. On the side of the heads, four directors said they were satisfied with the effects (C, D, E, G), while the others were dissatisfied. The criteria used by head vary. D, E, F, G used instructional criteria related to academic standards; A and B used regulative criteria related to social relations and discipline, and C responded on the basis of the stability of the school. In the next section we shall look to how staff thinks the effects would be improved.

From the theory we know that threats to the principles of classification and pressures to weaken the framing are sources of potential change. We also know that the acquisition of the principles of classification, a given order, entails the possibility of disorder, of subversion of that order. Three main elements can be read out of the analysis up to now. One, the tension to weaken the pace of teaching. Although recognised on the part of the transmitters as an element of a theory of instruction for adults, the general characteristics of students allow us to think that the tension to weaken the pace is present across the classrooms. Second, in some schools control over evaluation forms and the regulative emphasis of teachers to promote students came up and could also be considered as pressures to weaken evaluation criteria. Thirdly, we can infer conflicts and cleavages that might be

sources for potential change from the data we obtained about tensions between general and specialized teachers and discourses in most of the CENS; and in two particular CENS (D and G) we found tensions to weaken the classification between discourses.

In reference to identity production, we found that for students the main function of the CENS is a propaedeutical one, towards higher education, plus a function related to the labour situation, considering the relevance students gave to the secondary level certificate and for almost half of them the possibility of improving their condition at their jobs or to get a job. This is particularly contrasting with the main effects that at least four of the CENS staff identified as social regulative and that for most of the teachers and heads higher education would not be a feasible future for CENS students. This might be understood as a disturbance in the acquisition of what some CENS would be transmitting. It might be the case that the transmitted order locates students in a more disadvantaged position than the position students consider they would achieve through doing the CENS course (and the correspondent secondary level certificate). From students' perspective, the CENS course can modify their relative location, at least within the social group to which they belong.

8.3 Improvement of CENS achievements

Both teachers and heads were questioned about how the CENS could improve their achievements taking the effects staff identified as the base to respond these questions.

We asked the teachers what they thought should be done to improve the level of achievement of the school. The majority of the teachers answered this question even those who said that they were satisfied with the school effects. We specifically asked the satisfied teachers if they wanted to answer this question.

The only two CENS (D and G) where teachers said that the CENS works institutionally as a whole in order to achieve effects (in both cases teachers made reference to meetings and fluent staff exchange of information) are the same CENS that in the question about improvement either said that there was nothing to be done (CENS D) or referred to external influences on the school. In the rest of the CENS teachers feel that it is they individually who carry out improvements by themselves. There seems to be little co-operation.

The teachers' answers about how to improve the level of the CENS' achievement emphasised the social relations in the school (weakening the framing especially in the relations between the director and teachers, between the director and students and among the staff) but there was little emphasis on instructional features such as pedagogy or curriculum.

However the general emphasis of both types of teachers is upon the institutional level, particularly upon social relationships when they answered to the question about how to improve the level of school achievements. Communication among staff appears to be an important element across the various questions we have analysed.

In the network below we can see the distribution of responses about whether something should be done to improve the achievements and what in particular if it were the case. Most responses fell in the first option Yes (57 responses), only two out of the 19 interviewed teachers answered that there is no need to improve the achievements of the school.

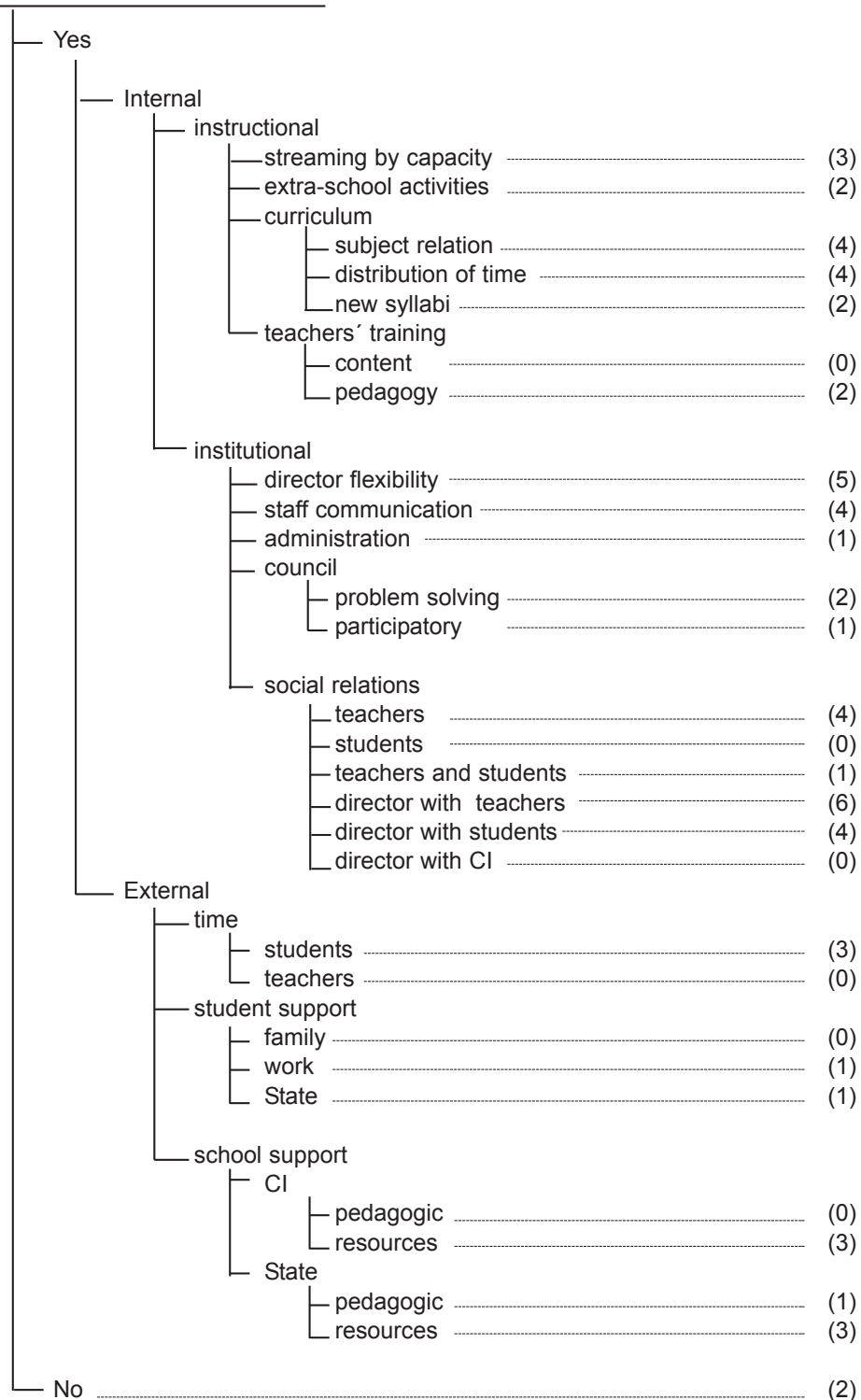
The sub-network internal had 45 responses whereas the sub-network **external** received only 12 responses. Within the sub-network **internal** the category institutional is the one that has the highest number of responses (28 responses).

The category instructional received 17 entries distributed across all the options. Within this category the subcategory 'curriculum' received 10 out of the 17 entries. As we said before the category institutional had the highest number of entries (28). 15 of the 28 responses referred to relation with the director (directors' flexibility, director/teachers and director/students). 8 responses referred to relation between teachers.

12 entries fell in the sub-network **external**. 7 of the 12 entries fell within the category support to the school: 6 responses here referred to the need for material resources, half stating that it is a CI responsibility to supply the resources and the other half sustained that the State is responsible on this matter. Four out of the five remaining entries referred to different needs of the students for greater support.

Network 8.1:

Improving achievements (teachers)

IMPROVING ACHIEVEMENTS

When we examine the responses by CENS we find that there are two interesting cases. Firstly, CENS G in which all the teachers' responses fell in the sub-network 'external' (these responses are 8 out of the 12 entries of this sub-network). Secondly, CENS D where two out of the three interviewed teachers responded that there was nothing in particular to be done in order to improve the level of achievement.

With respect to the distribution of responses by subject-area it is interesting to note that specialised teachers focused their answers on the category internal/ instructional more than in internal/ institutional, as we would expect given the fact of the emphasis on instructional discourse by the specialisation area teachers.

The data we obtained from this network confirm the data from the teachers' questionnaire⁹⁴ that teachers' dissatisfaction is focused on social relations and more at the institutional level than at the instructional level. It is worth emphasising here that teachers considered that the area to improve the level of achievement is the institutional one. Teachers are referring here to the management of social relations, communication and the directors' style. At a more general level dissatisfaction is directed to the regulative discourse of the CENS as the management of the reproduction of order and order maintenance, and it also gives an indicator of some tensions and resistance to the forms of organizational reproduction of the stability.

Heads were also asked what they thought should be done to improve the CENS level of achievement. All the directors sustained that there is an important time constraint, which is almost impossible to be modified, as a clear external constraint that effects internally. Firstly teachers' and students' lack of time due to their context (economic). Secondly a lack of time due to an overloaded curriculum which most of heads maintained is very difficult to be delivered in the three years they have.

Heads A and B answered that the area to be improved is the relation between teachers and students, the communication amongst the staff and students' discipline. Four heads directors (A, B, C and F) answered that there is a need to redistribute the time available for each subject, because there are some subjects that only have 80 minutes

⁹⁴ See next section.

of teaching per week (there was no reference to modify the distribution of time between general and specialised areas). When we re-asked if they would take away a subject to redistribute the time, the four said no. A and F said that they would like “to take students out to a theatre or a cinema”. Three directors (D, E, and G) answered that the areas to be improved are the available resources (laboratories, library, instructional material), and that the CI cannot afford all the costs by itself, so the State should invest some money for CENS.

We would like to comment the fact that all the heads were, in a way, reluctant when asked about changes in the school. Unlike most of the questions of the interview, in this case heads gave particularly short answers and most of the re-questions we made about change were responded referring to external constraints, as we have already reported. In two cases, A and F, when talking about changes they showed certain concern whether the research was an independent one or whether it was conducted for the DEAYA.

8.4 Teachers' views on possibilities of change

In this section we shall report the results of the specific query on change from the questionnaire and interviews administrated to the teachers. We will spend some space in reporting and analysing the data from the teachers. We consider that their view is central to understand some of the tensions and conflicts we have already reported, and it will help to check some of the information about CENS social relations.

The last set of three questions of the teachers' questionnaire related to satisfaction and potential change. Teachers were asked to consider 17 aspects of school life with respect to their satisfaction, whether it should be changed and the difficulty of change.⁹⁵ We consider these questions to be very important as they refer to potential conflict and change. Because of this reason we focused the analysis upon the responses showing dissatisfaction.

⁹⁵The scale for the question on satisfaction consisted of five points: Very satisfied (VS), Satisfied (S), Little satisfied (LS), Dissatisfied (D) and D/K (D/K). The points for change were simple: should be change, should not be changed, D/K. The scale for the question on possibilities of change had five points: Very easy, Easy, Difficult, Very Difficult, D/K.

The variables where dissatisfaction (LS+D) is significant are related to social relationships: relation between teachers, relation between director and students, director and teachers, relationships between the teachers and CI, how the school is run and students attitude (see table 8.2). The dissatisfaction in these variables is reported by one third of the teachers. There is one variable, which does not refer to social relationships, that is subjects taught which 20 out of the 67 teachers stated they are 'little satisfied' or 'dissatisfied'.

In table 8.2 we can see the distribution for dissatisfaction, this table was constructed by grouping 'Little satisfaction responses' (LS) and 'Dissatisfaction' responses (D).

Table 8.2: Responses frequency for dissatisfaction

	Little Satisfaction + Dissatisfaction	D/K
a) Subject content	8 (12%)	0
b) Discipline	8 (12%)	0
c) Teaching methods	9 (13%)	3 (4%)
d) Curriculum specialisation	12 (18%)	12 (18%)
e) Relation teachers	17 (25%)	0
f) Rel. teachers/ students	11 (16%)	0
g) Rel. director /students	19 (28%)	3 (4%)
h) Rel. director / teachers	21 (31%)	1 (1.5%)
i) Rel. teachers/CI	23 (34%)	21 (31%)
j) Rel. director / CI	12 (18%)	31 (46%)
k) Subjects taught	20 (30%)	8 (12%)
l) Assessment methods	9 (13%)	6 (9%)
m) How the school is run	18 (27%)	0
n) Students intake	14 (21%)	10 (15%)
o) Students attitude	18 (27%)	0
p) Teachers Attitude	8 (12%)	3 (4%)
q) Teachers professional level	4 (6%)	6 (9%)

On the answers about change we found that besides the aspects which were object of dissatisfaction there are two other variables which almost half of the teachers answered 'should be changed': 'subject content' and 'teaching methods'. When we looked at the distribution of responses for "change" we found, as we might expect, that teachers who expressed most dissatisfaction on the items on the previous list also opted for 'change' on the same items, although others who were satisfied also opted for change on a given item. Thus besides changes in the social relations the teachers required change in the discourse and its practice. It is the general subjects-area teachers who are the most dissatisfied for these items and these teachers were who considered these areas should be changed. 'Don't know' responses are very similar for each item on both questions.

Table 8.3: Responses frequency for change

	Should be changed	D/K
a) Subject content	30 (45%)	0
b) Discipline	16 (24%)	2 (3%)
c) Teaching methods	27 (40%)	2 (3%)
d) Curriculum specialisation	15 (22%)	11 (16%)
e) Relation teachers	26 (39%)	0
f) Rel. Teachers/ students	23 (34%)	2 (3%)
g) Rel. director /students	27 (40%)	8 (12%)
h) Rel. director / teachers	29 (43%)	1 (1.5%)
i) Rel. teachers/CI	39 (58%)	16 (24%)
j) Rel. Director / CI	20 (30%)	27 (40%)
k) Subject taught	31 (46%)	11 (16%)
l) Assessment methods	23 (34%)	5 (7%)
m) How the school is run	25 (37%)	0
n) Students intake	19 (28%)	6 (9%)
o) Students attitude	31(46%)	1 (1.5%)
p) Teachers Attitude	24 (36%)	3 (4%)
q) Teachers professional level	15 (22%)	5 (7%)

In general terms there is no direct relation between dissatisfaction and change. There are some aspects of school life that few teachers are dissatisfied with yet a much larger number of teachers think should be changed (e.g. 8 teachers are dissatisfied with 'subject content' but 30 teachers think it should be changed; 4 teachers are dissatisfied with their colleagues' professional level but 15 answered that it should be changed). However, it is important to stress that the chi-square between dissatisfaction and change is highly significant (0.04) in the case of the social relationships variables.

It is interesting to see that the highest concentration of 'D/K' answers is in the aspects 'relation between teachers/CI' (21 responses in the satisfaction question and 16 in the question about change) and 'relation between director/CI' (31 answers in the satisfaction question and 27 in the question about change)

We asked the teachers who responded that desire a change how difficult they thought it would be to change items in the list. The scale had five points: Very Easy (VE), Easy (E), Difficult (D), Very Difficult (VD) and D/K. For the purpose of the analysis we grouped VE and E answers within one category and D and VD within other. As we can see in table 8.4 below, there are a higher number of responses D+VD (251 answers) than the E+VE (155 answers). There are only two variables with more E+VE answers: 'subject content' (12/20) and 'students intake' (7/11). It is important to notice that the greatest differences are concentrated in three items: relation between director and teachers (21/8), relation between teachers and CI (24/7) and how the school is run (19/5). It seems that the emphasis here is on the relations to the hierarchical nature of authority.

Table 8.4: Frequency of answers for difficulty to change

	D+VD answers	E+VE answers
a) Subject content	12	20
b) Discipline	11	7
c) Teaching methods	17	10
d) Curriculum specialisation	11	4
e) Relation teachers	14	12
f) Rel. Teachers/ students	13	9
g) Rel. director /students	17	9
h) Rel. director / teachers	21	8
i) Rel. teachers/CI	24	7
j) Rel. Director / CI	13	5
k) Subject taught	19	11
l) Assessment methods	13	10
m) How the school is run	19	5
n) Students intake	7	11
o) Students attitude	14	13
p) Teachers Attitude	17	8
q) Teachers professional level	9	6
Total	251	155

We will now look at the relation of dissatisfaction and change with other variables. We have distinguished here between large differences and small differences for each variable. So far we have been interested here in the range of dissatisfaction and change for teachers and we based our analysis on the evaluation of individual teachers but in this analysis we are interested in satisfaction/dissatisfaction of a group e.g. male teachers, female teachers, general subjects-area teachers, specialisation subject-area teachers or even the degree of satisfaction of a CENS. We are, therefore, reporting our results for the satisfaction and change in terms of large and small differences in group frequencies. It will be seen that the differences between what we have called large and what we have called small differences are self evidently the case. The table below shows the differences the variables produced.

Table 8.5: Analysis of the variables for satisfaction and change

Differences	Age	Gender	Years of service	Time in CENS	Work context	Pedagogic Model	Subject area	Forms of appointment	CENS
Large		X		X			X	X	X
Small	X		X		X	X			

In the following sections we shall examine in detail the five variables associated with large differences in dissatisfaction.

8.4.1 Dissatisfaction and change by gender

There is a clear difference between female and male teachers in dissatisfaction. We found that female teachers (45) overall gave 173 dissatisfaction responses while male teachers (22) gave 58 dissatisfaction responses. The items that have the same gender ratio of 3.8/1 are: relation teachers/director, relation teachers/CI and curriculum orientation. However the female teachers' dissatisfaction is concentrated in four items: relation teachers/students (10/1), relation director/CI (11/1), relation between teachers (14/3) and subject content (8/0). We can say that female teachers are, relatively, more dissatisfied than the male teachers with the social relationships of the school. However it must be stressed that there is no relation between dissatisfaction and change by gender.

8.4.2 Dissatisfaction and change by time in the CENS

We found a difference between those teachers who have been working in the CENS up to 5 years (group 1) and those who have been for more than 6 years (group 2). The latter (group 2) are more dissatisfied and these teachers want more change, comparatively speaking, than the group 1.

Table 8.6: Dissatisfaction and change by time in the CENS

	Number of teachers	Number of responses Little satisfaction + Dissatisfaction	Number of responses Should be changed
Group 1 (up to 5 years)	54	167	304
Group 2 (more than 6 years)	13	64	116

It is interesting to see that the 13 teacher of the group 2 belong to four CENS (A, B, C, F), (see section Dissatisfaction and change by CENS, below).

8.4.3 Dissatisfaction and change by teaching area

There was a difference between general and specialisation teachers with respect to both satisfaction and change. The general subject-area teachers (119 LS+D answers from 34 teachers) are clearly more dissatisfied than the specialisation subject-area teachers (69 LS+D answers from 25 teachers). This is even clearer for change where general teachers' answers (226 'change' answers) double those of specialisation area teachers (122 'change' answers). The mixed area teachers (general & specialisation humanistic) are as a group very dissatisfied and they think that there is needed to change (46 LS+D answers and 72 answers for 'change' from 8 teachers).

Table 8.7: Distribution of teachers' satisfaction and change by subjects-area

	General area teachers	Specialisation area teachers	Mixed area teachers
Number of teachers	34	25	8
Answers for dissatisfaction	119	69	46
Answers for change	226	122	72

The less dissatisfied teachers are those of the non-humanistic specialisation subjects-area (only 29 LS+D answers from 14 teachers).

8.4.4 Dissatisfaction and change and teachers' appointment to the CENS

We have distinguished two forms of teachers' informal appointment to the CENS: internal, which refers to teachers who were informally appointed by the current director, the former teacher of the subject, other teacher of the school or through the CI, and external, which refers to teachers appointed by presenting CV, through the former director or through a teacher or a director from other CENS.

Comparing both groups we found that internal appointed teachers are more satisfied and want less change than the external appointed teachers.

Table 8.8: Dissatisfaction and change by informal appointment

	Number of teachers	LS+D responses	Change responses
Internally appointed teachers	47	130	224
Externally appointed teachers	20	100	196

Within externally appointed teachers the less satisfied teachers are those who entered the school through the former director of the CENS (47 responses by 7 teachers). These teachers are those who are more concerned with change than the others (86 responses). Within the internal group the less satisfied teachers are those who entered through the former teacher of the subject (28 responses by 4 teachers).

8.4.5 Dissatisfaction and change by CENS

Looking at the data at the CENS level (see table 8.9) we found two extremes in the answers for satisfaction as well as for change. CENS A and F are comparatively more dissatisfied than the others. On the other extreme we found that in CENS G the teachers are the most satisfied of the entire sample.

Table 8.9: Dissatisfaction and change by CENS

	CENS A	CENS B	CENS C	CENS D	CENS E	CENS F	CENS G
Number of teachers	5	14	9	13	8	7	11
LS+D responses	32	59	34	32	28	33	13
Change Responses	48	106	62	65	50	64	25

We have classified the CENS in two groups: those that have a strong relation with the CI (CI+) and those that have a weak relation with the CI (CI-). The CI+ CENS are D, E and G. The CI- CENS are A, B, C and F. The CI- are less satisfied (158 responses by 35 teachers) than the CI+ (73 responses by 32 teachers). The teachers of the first group clearly want more change (280 responses) than in the second group (140 responses).

With respect to the question about the difficulty to change some aspects of the school life we found that CENS B has the higher negative responses of the whole sample, 73

answers for the categories difficult and very difficult and only 25 answers for the categories easy and very easy.

It is interesting to look at the distribution of 'D/K' responses by CENS with respect to "relation teachers/CI" and "relation director/CI". In both cases these responses are concentrated in the CI- CENS as we can see in the tables below.

Table 8.10: Distribution of "D/K responses" for "relation teachers/CI" by CENS

	CI- CENS	CI+ CENS	Total
Number of teachers	35	32	67
D/K answers for satisfaction	18	3	21
D/K answers for change	10	6	16

Table 8.11: Distribution of "D/K responses" for "director/CI" by CENS

	CI- CENS	CI+ CENS	Total
Number of teachers	35	32	67
D/K answers for satisfaction	22	9	31
D/K answers for change	17	10	27

We shall offer a brief discussion about the findings we have described on teachers' dissatisfaction and possibilities of change.

The first point we would like to discuss here is that teachers' high level of dissatisfaction is concentrated on social relationships and authority relations (relations between teachers, relations director/ students, relations teachers/ director, relations teachers/ CI, how the school is run and students attitudes). The fact that we found in general low levels of dissatisfaction on items related to transmission could be understood as a consequence of the high level of discretion the teachers have to decide about their pedagogic practice. However 30% of the teachers answered that they are dissatisfied with the subjects taught in the course.

From the analysis of teachers' satisfaction presented above we can say that the more dissatisfied teachers share some of the following features: female, teaching for a long time in the CENS, belong to the general subjects-area, externally appointed and who are teaching in CENS with weak relations with the CI.

We found that female teachers are more dissatisfied than male teachers. We also found that general subjects-area teachers are more dissatisfied than specialisation subject-area teachers. And we know that the general subject-area group has a majority of female teachers (24/34). We are inclined to believe that the subject area is the variable operating at this level. Furthermore, if we are right that the emphasis of the specialisation teachers is upon instruction then they may be less concerned with social relations.

An interesting finding is that those teachers who entered the school through the offices of a former teacher of the subject or the former director are more dissatisfied and are much concerned with change than the rest of the teachers. These teachers, filtered through former staff may be more dissatisfied because they may not have the same positive relation with the current staff and director. With respect to length of time in the CENS it may well be that less dissatisfaction is related to a better understanding of the school and perhaps a higher engagement in the school life.

With respect to satisfaction by CENS the findings we reported confirm what we have already discussed about the relations between the strength and type of external relations of CENS. This was done through the room heads have to select teachers and the differences in terms of consensus, conflict and management of order and reproduction in CENS. The high level of satisfaction of CI+ would be also related in terms of their involvement with the CENS. We know that teachers who made their own syllabi belong to CI+ CENS and that issues on social relations are not the main concern for the staff in these schools.

As we might expect we found that teachers wanted to change those items with which they were dissatisfied. However it is interesting that almost half of the teachers answered that there should be a change of two items directly related to transmission that were not reported as dissatisfactory: teaching methods (40%) and subject content (45%). It is clear

that teachers are concerned with change of the discourse and its practice. Although teachers report that they enjoy considerable discretion over their methods and teaching contents they still consider that these features should be changed. This finding appears to contradict their apparent satisfaction with those features (78% of teachers reported are satisfied with teaching contents and 77% are satisfied or very satisfied with teaching methods). With respect to the difficulty of changing teaching contents, as we would expect, 20 out of 32 teachers reported that it would be easy or very easy to change. We should remember that in the chapter on transmission we reported about why teachers do not change the syllabi given the fact they have room to do it, we found that they either do not have time to do it or they do not know how. However only 10 out of 17 teachers reported that it would be easy to change methods of teaching. We report on probable explanations for this later on this chapter. It is important to note in this context that the most dissatisfied teachers with respect to features of transmission are those in the general subject-areas; the area of the curriculum mostly regulated by the State.

The figures showed that teachers in general considered that it is difficult to make changes in the school (251 answers for difficult and very difficult and 155 answers for easy and very easy). There are three items for which the negative answers are higher than for the rest: relation between director and teachers, relation between teachers and CI and how the school is run. As we said before these three items appear to be directly related to the hierarchical nature of authority. This indicates a strong classification and framing in the vertical relationships between staff in the school. At the other extreme we found that teachers considered it easy to change the subject content, 20 out of 32 teachers answered positively (we have discussed this above). Finally we found that only CENS B has higher figures for difficulty to change.

In the interview the teachers were asked three specific questions, the last questions of the interview, which directly addressed the issue of change within their CENS. These questions, directly related to change, tried to focus on the orientation of the change; in order to do this the set of questions provided the teachers with an ideal teaching situation.

As a result of the teachers' questionnaire and as a result of the teachers' pilot interview we found that time is an important constraint for the teachers. We asked teachers: "If you

had more time what would you be able to do in this school that you cannot do now?”. 10 out of the 19 interviewees said that they would spend more time in teaching activities: two teachers said that they would use more time for individual teaching to those students who have difficulties, two teachers said that they would teach more contents and six teachers said that they would make special activities with their classes. Two teachers answered that they would prepare a better teaching plan for the year. Three teachers said that they would use their time studying more about their subject. One teacher said that she would use the time for staff meetings and other teacher answered that she would use the time to know the students better. We did not find important similarities neither differences in the distribution of answers by CENS or by subject areas.

The second question was: “Imagine that the school had the opportunity of acquiring better economic resources, what would you want to improve in your work as teacher?” The majority of the teachers answered that they would ask for books and videos. Some teachers from CENS D, E and G answered that they needed more space and better building facilities (i.e. bigger classrooms, well equipped labs). Finally it is important to notice that all the interviewees from CENS C said that they would not ask for anything because they had a very good infrastructure and all the materials they required.

Then we asked teachers: “Do you think there are issues which can be improved that do not depend on money?” We grouped the answers into five categories and we found that teachers from the same CENS gave similar answers. In the table below we show the results:

Table 8.12: Issues to be improved by number of teachers per CENS

	CENS A	CENS B	CENS C	CENS D	CENS E	CENS F	CENS G
Nº of interviewed teachers	3	2	3	3	3	2	3
Change director	3	2	2			2	
Staff meetings			3				
Reorganise space (building)				1	2		
Nothing				2	1		3
D/K	1	1				2	

The first issue we can notice is that seven teachers from three CENS (A, B, C and F) responded that they consider that the director should be changed. In case of CENS C that response is included (by the three teachers) when they said that they might have staff meetings. On the other hand six teachers from three CENS (D, E and G) answered that there was nothing to be done that does not depend on the lack of money. It is worth emphasising that all the teachers from CENS G answered that there was nothing to be done, and that the teachers from CENS D and E referred to the need to reorganise the space in the building. Finally four teachers from three different CENS (A, B and F) answered that they did not know what could be done without money. It seems clear that there are two main orientations to change: one orientation is clearly biased to a change in the management of the school given (the need to change the director: CENS A, B, C and F); on the other hand there seems to be high level of satisfaction with the CENS functioning (CENS C, D and G) where teachers only referred to the need to reorganise space.

After their responses on this last question there was no reference to pedagogy, which was one of the items that received an important amount of responses about the need to change it in the questionnaire, we asked them about it. We also set this question in the focus groups. Our point was that we had information that pedagogy was a space of large discretion for teachers and they said that it should be changed but not all the teachers thought that it would be easy to change it. Two main arguments were given both in the interviews and in the focus groups. One related to a lack of pedagogic knowledge particularly that about teaching adults but it was also related to the reduced teaching time that they have in CENS where they teach in 40 to 80 minutes by class. The other related with the general features of the students, the argument was that it is very difficult to innovate in terms of pedagogy with students that have problems with what we already called pedagogic discipline and a very low knowledge background. In the focus group we queried about what teachers cannot do because of the lack of pedagogic discipline; the main reference was about students not reading outside the school, and lack of study and research procedures or generic intellectual tools. Therefore teachers cannot demand much study, reading or research work of students outside the school. This reinforces our hypothesis about pedagogic practices modalities discussed in previous chapters.

8.5 Discussion on change potential

As it is the case for the other three research areas, our study on change potential can be considered in two levels: one, refers to a concern in terms of the external language of description, that is to construct a form to describe the empirical, here to describe change potential in the sampled schools; the other level is theoretical, it refers to the internal language of description, that is an attempt to contribute to the development and to test the theory with respect to its uses in our specific research. We shall discuss both levels.

“Change, in the theory, arises out of two origins. One is intrinsic to the acquisition of codes and the other is extrinsic to this acquisition. As codes are acquired which establish, or rather attempt to establish, a particular modality of order and perhaps exclude others in so doing, at the same time the potential of disordering is acquired. Further, extrinsic to individual acquisition is the context. The institutional structure, relations between social groups, the play of power relations which position and place in opposition social groups (be these classes, race, gender, region, religion) create the struggle to dominate and change codes.” (Bernstein, 2000; 124 – 125)

In the design of the research strategy we considered the study on change potential in two vectors: one that allows to describe tensions, challenges and conflicts in the realization of the codes considering them as sites and resources of change potential, which goes through all the research areas; the other vector was designed to search in a rather direct form sites, sources and possible orientations of the change potential, which defined this specific research area.

One of the assumptions, to design the research area, was that change potential was connected to satisfaction. After the analysis of our study we cannot assert that there is a direct positive relation between satisfaction and change. We found that responses of satisfaction were followed by responses of desire of change (e.g. pedagogy). Therefore one agent's will for change might not be based on a maximum of dissatisfaction. Further, when studying change potential we cannot assume that an agent who believes that a change is needed and believes that it is a feasible change finally attempts to perform that change.

Here we face two theoretical problems which have their origins with the foundation of the sociology as a discipline itself: the position of the individual towards society and the problem of a theory of social change and then the position of the individual towards the change

of a given social order.⁹⁶ We will not make a discussion here about the history and the different approaches on the problem, we shall only briefly comment on Bernstein's work over the issue.

As we said on the theoretical chapter following Díaz (2001; 85) there is not an explicit theory of subject in Bernstein's work. Díaz proposes to pay attention to the relational character of the notion of power in Bernstein's work and the place that the concept of "boundary" has. "In essence, boundaries are the critical point for the definitions of knowledge and practice as well as for the subject." (Díaz, 2001; 84-85). Díaz continues saying: "... there is a close relation in Bernstein between boundaries, power, social groups, and forms of identity." (Díaz, 2001; 85). Díaz also suggests that to understand the semiotic processes of constitution of the subject and the subject positioning in the theory it must be considered "*structured and structuring relations such as power-subject, subject-meanings, subject-code, and subject-pedagogic discourse.*" (Díaz, 2001; 84). The internal order of the subject, following Díaz, seems to be the means of constitution of the identity principle, that is related with the external symbolic order linked to social and cultural structures.

"... subject becomes a symbolic space for the realisation of power positions that fragment voices into voices internal to the individual. In opposition to individual unity and freedom, Bernstein thinks of a subject limited by what power establishes in actual voices. Voice is, in this sense, difference, is identity. Power is translated into voice, voice is translated into difference, and difference creates identity. But the translation is not mechanical; it is realized through the fracturing, dispersing, and fragmenting of voice." (Díaz, 2001; 87)

From the above we can derive that the position of the individual towards social order and its change is a function of power relations, which set the limits to the potential meanings that a given subject may enact in social relations. On the other side Bernstein sustains that the acquisition of the code entails the acquisition of its dilemmas, contradictions, cleavages and the potential of change of a social order (Bernstein, 1990a; 26; Bernstein, 2000; 15), "But code acquisition necessarily entails both the acquisition of order and the potential of its disturbance." (Bernstein, 2000; 203). Here it is worth remembering that in the relation between voice and message (we presented in chapter 2).

⁹⁶ Berger and Luckmann (1995); Bourdieu et al. (1995); Durkheim (1985 [1893], 1993 [1912]); Elias (1990, 1993 [1939], 1999 [1970]); Giddens (1987, 1995), Marx (1987 [1873]); Parsons (1999 [1951]); Simmel (1932 [1908], 2002 [1917]); Tönnies (1942 [1931], 1947 [1887]); Weber (2004 [1922]).

“There is a dynamic relation between voice and message. Whereas in the first instance the latter limits the former, the former is also the source of change of the latter and so of itself. In other words, social relations within the social division of labour have the potential of changing that social division of labour. Message is the means of changing the voice.” (Bernstein, 1990a; 35)

Hence the description of change potential goes inserted in the description of the realization of the code, but it needs specific description of the “communicative context” in terms of social relations and the interactional principles realised in specific pedagogic practices.

“The **form of the communicative context** is the crucial feature generated by their social relations, through the pedagogic practices the social relations regulate.” (Ibid. 34. Original emphasis).

A given social division of labour could be challenged by the social relations that regulate the form of the pedagogic practice and so the legitimate communication. As the message is the means of socialization into the code, (Ibid, 32) and the message is a function of framing (realization rules) tensions over the control of the legitimate message and over the communicative form of its realization might challenge the principle that generated the voice. Bernstein gives a very interesting example that helps to understand the complex relation we are trying to develop, and it is close to the empirical context we have in our research.

“Any framing carries with it the procedures of its disturbance and challenge. Consider an elaborated code with values +C+F^{ie} realized in the communicative context of a secondary school in which the pedagogical relations are between a teacher and a class of pupils who have been disabled by the code. The strategies for challenging the code are given by the code’s principles. If the pupils are to challenge the code effectively, it cannot be done by one pupil. It requires changing the basic unit of acquisition, which is that of an isolated, privatized, competitive pupil, to communal, non-competitive classroom relations. There must be a change in pupils’ principles of social integration. Given this change, the new group can substitute its own norm of production for the teacher’s norms. The group can now impose its own realization rules. These may well include sabotaging the means of the pedagogic practice, subverting its rules, assuming aggressive postures. These disturbances and challenges are resistances called out by the specific code; they do not necessarily index a move even to declassify, let alone to reclassify. Challenge of, or resistance to, the framing of the pedagogic practice by transmitters or acquirers may be within the terms of the classificatory principles.” (Ibid, 39)

Social relation in the communicative context must be described and considered in order to describe change potential. The tensions and conflicts on social relations are key elements but the forms of the realization of the legitimate message and communication also are. In this sense some issues that came out in our research like evaluation criteria and pace, challenges to the classificatory principles, hierarchies, and labels that framing might produce are central in the understanding of change potential and its realizations.

In our case the tensions and conflicts that have arisen in the description of the other three areas of the research, in a way, were confirmed in the specific area dedicated to change. But we added description of sites of change potential (such as pedagogy) which have not clearly arisen in the previous areas (which can be understood as a fault of the research design). This area made also clear the degree or the standpoint of some of the agents towards the 'better' solution to a conflict that was detected in other research areas. This refers to the responses of teachers of the four CENS with conflicts on the social relation area that said that the change of the head would be a way to solve the conflict. However, in a way the theory challenges this vision, by the way a common one, that changing the individual who holds a position / category the whole system would change. If it is the code that inheres the conflict the construction of the relative position is which generates conflict. But in another way, the theory sustains teachers' vision, as it understands that pressures over the social relations that reproduce hierarchy might be a key source and site to produce change.

Students attempt to challenge evaluation in some schools and a tension over the control of the evaluation that we have seen in the chapter on transmission, could be clear signs of sources for change. And from the side of the transmitters the dissatisfaction of students' attitudes', together with teachers desire to change forms of teaching based on the features of the students, who from the point of view of teachers do not make the extra school work they would like. All these elements can be seen as challenges over the framing, over the control of communicative context and the legitimate message, which in turn might be understood as means for resisting the power relations that established a legitimate voice for the students.

Considering the theory and some of our results we also learned that change potential does not necessarily nor directly talk about the possibility of the change. The fact that we found a combination of dissatisfaction with some aspects of the school life and that we even found that the view of agents was that of an easy issue to be changed does not necessarily entail a change or a modification of the area of dissatisfaction. Further empirical research is needed to go deeper in what are the conditions that transform what we may call a “complaint” into a specific site of change.

Now we move to another level of analysis, change potential in terms of the pedagogic discourse. With the exception of contents and pedagogy the other aspects that were object of dissatisfaction and change responses are elements of the regulative discourse of the pedagogic discourse. The rules of the regulative discourse regulate what counts as legitimate order (between and within transmitters, acquirers, competences and contexts) and provide and legitimize the regulation of order, relation and identity (Bernstein, 1990a; 188). The moral order is a condition of, and is prior to, the transmission (Ibid. 184).

From this, conflicts on regulative elements challenge the social order settings upon which the transmission is realized. We found conflicts related to authority and conflicts between discourses both related to order and relation, which entail tensions with respect to identities. But at the same time, in the schools where these conflicts are at stake, there is a general emphasis of the pedagogic discourse in regulative elements, as we showed in previous chapters, and a bias on general education for skills for life. In these schools we found conflicts and tensions over discipline, of both teachers and students, and tensions about control and management. Here we see a relation between the conflicts of regulative discourse elements that effect the transmission and the rules of order, relation and identity that characterise the specific pedagogic discourse of the schools. Here the conflict might have a source also in the primary cultural context of the students and students' expectations of the school. Also these schools position the students in a spot of being object of socialization in social and pedagogic discipline, as being not able to acquire strong instructional knowledge, place issues of social control at the centre of the communicative context.

The more satisfied schools, which have a pedagogic discourse that focus on the curriculum orientation and its bias emphasises on instrumental instructional elements. Where

students are seen in a rather positional way (as workers and in function of CI membership), where there is a strong control over teachers and pedagogy through selection, which ensure high levels of consensus conflicts are contained. These are conditions for a quite stable reproduction. It might be the case that because of the external relation with the CI and a type of instrumental de-centred pedagogy, that the regulative discourse of the CENS is translated from the regulative discourse of the CI, the source for change could be found outside the school. And internal tensions might be located in what recontextualization principles should dominate the translation of external demands. Here issues of material resources and economic sources to sustain the reproduction of the pedagogic discourse have higher relevance. The sites for conflicts and challenges are rather located in external relations with both the State and the external demand of the CI. In reference to the State, as it does not have a direct and effective control it is not a problem until the State would change the strength of control over the CI+ CENS. But if this were the case the CI would have a key role in dealing with the State, trying to preserve the school from that external control. However other pressures, i.e. from the production field, might be more disturbing.

In some sense it could be said that the potential change is inbuilt in the pedagogic discourse of the school. But, it should be understood in a way that one of the major sources for change are the social relations and, that the social relations recursively are regulated by and regulate the pedagogic discourse. Therefore change should be searched in the social relations and the regulations they produced, as well as in the pedagogic discourse that regulates the social relations.

PART III

9. FINAL ELABORATIONS

9.1 Introduction

We have two purposes in these final pages: one, to elaborate an external language of description of organizations of the field of symbolic control, in our case taking as a base an empirical research on secondary level institutions for adults. The other purpose is to offer some theoretical elaborations, which would allow describing (and explaining) how the organizational level of agencies of the field of symbolic control operates in and regulates the process of reproduction of the pedagogic discourse. Both purposes are built in a greater aim, perhaps presumptuous for the context of a doctorate thesis, which is to contribute to the development of a “sociological theory of pedagogy” (Bernstein, 2000) in the context of a “sociology for the transmission of knowledges” (Bernstein, 2001; 368).

9.2 The sources towards an internal language of description of educational organizations from Bernstein’s work

In his last book Bernstein (2000; 23-24) starts the appendix “Pedagogic culture and pedagogic code” with a statement I cannot ignore: “A criticism that has been made of the theory is that the code theory does not generate organisational or administrative descriptions.” I myself have made that criticism, I discussed with Bernstein about it. However, I do not believe Bernstein thought in this Argentinean student when he wrote those lines.

As we have said in the introductory chapter, the research was designed during 1995 and the winter term of 1996, the fieldwork was done during 1996 in Buenos Aires. The

main work of data analysis was done during 1997 and 1998. During the analysis I discussed with Bernstein some possible theoretical developments from his theory in order to describe school organizations, particularly those of my research. In the context of our supervision meetings (twice a week to be precise) I had tried several approximations to conceptualize some of the results of my research, in those meetings the metaphor of the container and the contained came out, and one day Bernstein offers me a draft that finally became the appendix mentioned above.

My argument initially was that after the three early papers on schools, "Sources of consensus and disaffection in education" (Bernstein, 1966), "Ritual in education" (Bernstein et al., 1966) and "Open schools, open society?" (Bernstein, 1967), that we have analyzed in the theoretical chapter, in the development of the code theory and then in the construction of the theory of the pedagogic discourse references to the organizational level can be found, but it was not treated as a central object for descriptions and, I sustained, that specific research and the construction of a specific language of description was needed. In what follows I shall present a discussion about the presence of the organizational level in Bernstein's work, and then I will elaborate some elements towards an internal language of description of educational organizations, towards a further construction of a theoretical model (the latter would require more empirical research).

In the exposition of the pedagogic code theory Bernstein spends some time in what he calls "organizational consequences" of the codes. In "On the classification and framing of educational knowledge" (Bernstein, 1973, 1977) Bernstein analyses the integrated and collection codes and he introduces "some organizational consequences of collection and integrated codes which will make explicit the difference in the distribution of power and the principles of control which inhere in these educational codes." (Bernstein, 1973; 246, Bernstein, 1977; 103).

The exercise made in those papers about the organizational consequences of the codes focuses on vertical and horizontal power and control relations, the effects they have over forms of loyalty and production of identity for both staff and students, as well as different foci of control (e.g. task based, non-task based), (Bernstein, 1973; 246-249).

Although classification and framing can be used, and were indeed, to describe the organizational context, this was not the main and central object of descriptions. However, from this key paper the organizational level could be described and understood in a more complex and comprehensive form than it was done in the first attempts in the sixties. Further, the author is aware of this potential and its need. In the conclusion of the “On classification and framing...” article Bernstein states that the development of the classification and framing relation analysis opens the possibility for organizational descriptions and their relationships with knowledge properties:

“Through defining educational codes in terms of the relationship between classification and framing, these two components are built into the analysis at all levels. It then becomes possible in one framework to derive a typology of educational codes, to show the interrelationships between organizational and knowledge properties, to move from macro- to micro-levels of analysis, to relate the patterns internal to educational institutions to the external social antecedents of such patterns, and to consider questions of maintenance and change.” (Bernstein, 1973; 256)

Then in the postscript of the revised edition of *Class Code and Control*, Volume I (1973), Bernstein summarises the idea of differences in institutional settings for the realization of the codes: “Thus the realizations of elaborated codes varies with the form of their institutionalization.” (Bernstein, 1973; 259)

In the “On classification and framing of educational knowledge” paper Bernstein can also analyse the differences in the forms of external control from the State to the institutions, which gives him a better understanding of resistance to and possibilities of change of the knowledge code, and its relation with organizational change.

“... rigidity in educational knowledge codes may rise out of highly centralized or weak central control over the knowledge codes. Weak central control does permit a series of changes which have, initially, limited consequences for the system as a whole. On the other hand, there is much stronger central control over the organizational style of the school. This can lead to a situation where there can be a change in the educational knowledge code, particularly where the educational code, itself, creates specific identities. This raises the question, which cannot be developed here, of the relationships between organizational change and change of educational knowledge code, i.e. change in the strength of classification and framing.” (Bernstein, 1973; 243)

In the article “The sociology of education: a brief account” (Bernstein, 1977; 157-173) Bernstein also spends some space to discuss the low productivity of the studies of or-

ganizational structures and school effectiveness in the context of the sociology of education. And he formulates a whole research program about schools in a different way that it was done by the dominating structural-functionalist approach in the sixties.

“... we need to ask what are the social controls which monitor and change the range of organizational styles within and between levels of the educational system? And all these questions must be examined from both an historical and a comparative perspective.” (Bernstein, 1977; 170)

With the classification and framing conceptualization and descriptive possibilities of the codes, Bernstein can overcome the problems of description and conceptualization he faced in the previous papers on school organizations. In his own view (Bernstein, 2000; 95-97), in those papers there were no connection between micro and macro levels, no distinctions were possible between power and control, and social class was “not much more than a shadow concept” (Ibid. 97). Bernstein said, in reference to the articles previous to the classification and framing conceptualization: “Thus by the mid- 1960s I had a simple language to describe control systems, consisting of their social division of labour → modes of control → communicative outcomes.” (Ibid. 95). However I think that “Open schools – open society?” opened the track to consider the social division of labour as a central dimension for the description of the process of cultural transmission in its institutionalized forms.

It is in the 1981 article “Codes, modalities, and the process of cultural reproduction: A model” (Bernstein, 1981, 1990a) where we can find further elaborations on the code theory. In this article there are some significant insights to construct a language of description of educational organizations, or rather, considering the new re-conceptualizations we should refer to organizations of the field of symbolic control. We have analyzed some of this conceptualization in the theoretical chapter; however we would like to point out some here. Under the risk of making a sort of personal recontextualization of Bernstein production, I will highlight those conceptualizations and relationships that are directly connected with our concern.

1. The reference to the “specialized interactional practices” in the definition of the code (Bernstein, 1990a; 15-17), which is a re-writing of the previous “evoking contexts”. This is that the form of the social relationship regulates orientation to meanings and then

generates specific textual productions. “From this perspective the specific text is but a transformation of the specialized interactional practice; the text is the form of the social relationship made visible, palpable, material.” (Ibid. 17). In the structure of the thesis the “visible” (specialized interactional practices – textual production) should lead to recover the “invisible” chain (class positioning – codes – codes and communication) to explain and describe codes. We hope having done so in the precedent chapters.

2. The description and comprehension of the code needs a particular description and conceptualization of the social division of labour and of the social relations. We will focus on the analysis applied to school. “Here the social division of labour is constituted by the set of categories of transmitters (teachers) and the set of categories which constitute the acquirers, whilst **the social relations refer to practices between transmitters and acquirers and practices between transmitters and between acquirers.**” (Bernstein, 1990a; 22. Our emphasis). The development of social division of labour and social relations leads to the relations between voice and message, which also is connected to legitimate communication and identities. (We have already presented these elements of the theory in the theoretical chapter). With reference to the social division of labour of reproduction in education Bernstein distinguishes some classificatory features, one of which is “Intra-discourse relations of education. Organizational context.” (Bernstein, 1990a; 27), which is defined by to insulation relationships between agents and between discourses.

3. The analysis of social relations, practice and message takes Bernstein to direct the attention to the local context of reproduction (relation between transmitters and acquirers) and the social relations regulation of the communicative context in the production of the legitimate communication and messages in that communicative context. “... the **form of the communicative context** is the crucial feature generated by their social relations, through the pedagogic practices the social relations regulate.” (Bernstein, 1990a; 34)

4. We have to consider the principles of classification and framing and their relation with the elaboration of recognition and realization rules, and their location in the model of

cultural reproduction. The whole model to create code modalities can be summarized in the next quotation:

“The distribution of power and the principle of control of the dominant principle are realized in the social division of labour and its social relations, and they establish the classificatory and framing values, which define the mode of transmission /acquisition or practice in basic communicative contexts for the reproduction of discursive and the production of physical resources. The classificatory principles regulate recognition rules, what it is legitimate to put together, and so what we have called the syntax of generating meaning. Framing principles regulate realization rules, how relations may be made public, and so what we have called the syntax of realizations.” (Bernstein, 1990a; 41)

5. In the exposition of the pedagogic code theory the final appearance of the “three inter-dependent contexts of educational discourse, practice, and organization.” (Ibid, 59) opened the connection to the pedagogic device, the pedagogic discourse and to the development of the studies on recontextualization. The three contexts are: primary context, production of discourse; secondary context, the reproduction of the discourse; and recontextualizing context; relocation of discourse. This elaboration approximation will be deployed in “The social construction of pedagogic discourse” (Bernstein, 1990a)⁹⁷ and then re-elaborated and enriched in *Pedagogy, symbolic control and identity* (1996, 2000).

Before moving forward to the theory of pedagogic discourse I would like to make some notes. It was shown above the position and function of the organizational level in the theory. Here, together with the theoretical chapter, we showed the centrality that holds in the theory the transmission of knowledge, its forms and structure, in order to understand the organizational level in the institutionalised cultural transmission in the educational system, and the consequences of the forms of the social division of labour and the social relations in the transmission /acquisition of the code, and its outputs in terms of identity and social positioning.

In what we have revisited, though, there are resources and tools to construct descriptions of school organizations, yet the central description and conceptualization focuses in two levels: one, about the pedagogic practice (e.g. at the level of the classroom), at the level of the pedagogic communication between transmitters and acquirers and the other level of central description is about the macro relations in society (i.e. relations

⁹⁷ Here we are considering Bernstein’s books publications.

between field of production and field of symbolic control; configuration of the symbolic control and production and reproduction of culture). It should be stressed that the description and conceptualization to which we are referring is also concerned, and it is successful in doing so, with connecting macro and micro processes and levels in a complex (not simplistically mechanical) form and, even more significant, it produced empirical research, moreover it was elaborated from empirical research where the main thesis is highly confirmed.

In a way, in the internal language of the theory the organizational level is central but not fully deployed. Nevertheless, this is not central in the construction of the external language, which effects the development of the theory with regard to organizations.

I think that our research shows the relationships between the values of external classification and framing with internal classification and framing at the level of the organization, this is the general division of labour of discourses and the division of labour plus social relations of agents (head – staff, among staff, head – students, staff – students, among students). And there is a relation between external and internal values of classification and framing of the school level with values of classification and framing of the pedagogic practice, the actual pedagogic relation between transmitters and acquirers.

From an analytical point of view, we know from the theory that the classificatory principles produce the voice and identity of the transmitter and acquirer categories, which create markers and limit the realization of its practices and regulate the recognition rule (we also know that pedagogic practices and social relations have the potential to change the division of labour). In our research the construction of both categories teacher and students cannot only be described from the interactional practice without describing how at the school level both teachers and students are internally selected. It is quite clear that this selection is, partially, a function of the pedagogic code. However we cannot understand some features of the modality of pedagogic practice without understanding the complex relationships of external and internal values of classification and framing at the school level, and how both principles generate meanings at the school level. On the other hand, it should be said that it is not enough to describe the

category construction and realization at the level of the school without describing the pedagogic practices realization.

In a same line, I think that the description of the social division of labour of discourses, in terms of curriculum, its production, maintenance and reproduction through social relations, the implications to identities, conflicts, etc. requires specific descriptions on how they are realized at the school level. In more simple words I think that if we describe the curriculum level (i.e. official documents) and then classroom level, and we bypass the level of the school we might be missing how a social order is constructed and how it sustains or how that social order contributes to the reproduction of a given code at the level of the interactional relations of the classroom. I also think that the incorporation of the school level in the description of the pedagogic code might help to describe how the same pedagogic code, and even a same modality, may have variations in its realized forms and outcomes. This is something I think our research has also shown (see discussions in chapters 5 and 6).

The specialized interactional practices, evoking contexts, was mainly used to describe classroom settings (e.g. Morais and Neves, 2001; Morais, et al.; 1992, 1993), though I think the theory allows using them to describe the institutional school level, which has not enough empirical research. I am not saying that it was not done, the works done by Daniels (1987) and Tyler (1985) are fundamental; both in different forms constructed the organizational level as part of the construction of their object of study.

In terms of the framing, the control over the transmission (legitimate forms of communication and knowledge / message, and its regulation of the realization rules) and the regulation of the communicative context, I think that our research shows how the forms of control, how the maintenance and reproduction of the social order, at the school level, are related with and effect the transmission. This is, for example, how the forms of creating consensus about the teaching, the forms and orientations of the heads' control over the teachers and over the transmission, the conflicts that arise in the school social relations, influence the pedagogic practices, which are not detached from the school level.

We shall spend some time in considering the developments of the theory of the pedagogic discourse, elaborations on the pedagogic device and studies on recontextualization and how those elements particularly relate to the institutional level of what is called the field of reproduction of the pedagogic discourse.

In the definition of the pedagogic discourse as a recontextualizing principle, Bernstein (2000; 33) sustains that it creates recontextualizing fields, the Official Recontextualizing Field (ORF) and the Pedagogic Recontextualizing Field (PRF), these are fields with agents with practising ideologies. In the logic of the 1990 article “The social construction of pedagogic discourse” the “secondary context: reproduction of discourse” appears when Bernstein gives “movement” to the pedagogic device and analyses its realization. In the article of 2000 “The pedagogic device” the field of reproduction also appears in the realization of the model of the pedagogic device (see “figure 2.4” in Bernstein, 2000; 37).

In the elaboration of the realization of the device and its description Bernstein (1990a; 195 – 200) concludes:

“...it is possible to see the complex relations between power, pedagogic discourse of reproduction, and the distribution of forms of consciousness. Because every discourse is a recontextualized discourse, every discourse and its subsequent texts are ideologically repositioned in its transformation from the original field of its production or existence to the field of its reproduction.” (Ibid.; 200)

In terms of our discussion the point to make here is about the conceptual and empirical function of the secondary field of reproduction of the discourse, how to describe it together with its interrelations with the other fields. In the definition Bernstein (1990a; 191) refers to various levels, agencies, positions and practices, which refer to the “selective reproduction of educational discourse.” Here he is talking about the degree of specialization of each agency and educational levels. But then, in the stage of the realization of the model, Bernstein also gives to the field of reproduction a recontextualizing function, which is not present in the definition of the recontextualizing principles and fields. And some references are also made to the relationship between the field of reproduction and the recontextualizing fields.

“The pedagogic discourse of reproduction which is inserted in the contexts of reproduction (**which** school contexts depend upon relative autonomy given to levels or agencies at different levels of the educational system) is then consti-

tuted by a complex set of relations between recontextualizing fields and positions within such fields.” (...)

“Any pedagogic practice of reproduction is given by ID/RD where the unit of analysis may be a level of the education system, an agency, a curriculum, a unit of the curriculum or a context of transmission.” (Bernstein, 1990a; 198 – 199. Original emphasis).

“However, what is reproduced in schools may itself be subject to recontextualizing principles arising out of the specific context of a given school and the effectiveness of external control over the reproduction of official pedagogic discourse. Further, what is reproduced may be affected by the power relations of the recontextualizing field between the school and the primary cultural context of the acquirer (family / community / peer relations). The school may include as part of its practice recontextualized discourses from the family / community / peer relations of the acquirer for purposes of social control, **in order to make its own regulative discourse more effective.**” (Bernstein, 1990a; 199. Our emphasis).

“The degree of autonomy of the pedagogic recontextualizing field can profoundly affect the pedagogic discourse reproduced in schools, essentially through the initial and in service training of teachers and through the books / text books which issue from the pedagogic recontextualizing field.” (Bernstein, 1990a; 202)

For the comprehension of the model and its realization Bernstein gives some definitions which help us to understand and, then, to develop the location of the agency, the location of the school or organizational level in the theory and in the external language of description.

“Specific instructional discourse (SID): regulates the rules which constitute the legitimate variety, internal and relational features of specialized competences in any one agency.

Specific regulative discourse (SRD): the rules which regulate in any one agency what counts as legitimate order between and within transmitters, acquirers, competences, and the organizational context. At the most abstract level SRD provides and legitimizes the official rules regulating order, relation and identity.” (Bernstein, 1990a; 194. Original emphasis.)

When Bernstein gives his own view about the development of the empirical research which was the base of the production of the theory (Bernstein, 2000; chapter 6) he makes a review of the papers on the school (Bernstein, 1966; 1967; Bernstein, et al. 1966), that we have already commented in the theoretical chapter. There, he recognises some limitations in the description because the rules for the description of the type of moral regulation were not integrated in the classification and framing concepts (Bern-

stein, 2000; 102). He refers that the integration arose out from the work of Emilia Pedro (1981). This research allowed working with the concept of framing examining separately the control over instructional and regulative discourse. Bernstein stresses the potential of this work for further research.

“... it was possible, in principle for the framing of the instructional discourse to be different from the framing of the regulative discourse. Further, it was now possible to examine classification and framing at the level of the school, as given in documents, rules, rituals, assemblies, etc., for the regulative discourse and curricular programmes for the instructional discourse. Comparison could be made for both discourses between the level of the school, and the level of the classroom and the level of pupils. The regulative discourse of the school could be related to external regulative discourses. All this was now possible in the same conceptual language.” (Bernstein, 2000; 102)

Pedro (1981; 208-209) presents a “model for pedagogic discourse” which is used to construct a network for the analysis of pedagogical context. In that model there is central element which is the “organizational unit (OU)”. This OU refers to the pedagogical context of the classroom which is defined as:

“The division of labour of pupils is made explicit in the organizational unit, as well as in the social relations of the pupils. This organizational unit may consist of an isolated pupil, a subgroup of pupils or the class.” (Pedro, 1981; 209).

Bernstein sees the possibility that this model creates to describe the school level and its relations with the classroom and the pupils. And he can imagine the possibility of researching the relationships between internal and external regulative discourses. I think that, although the model was constructed to describe classroom practices, it has a strong potential for describing the school level. We can find some of these tools in Daniels (1987, 2001), for describing schools organization, although he uses a model of description for schools that has other features (as we have commented in chapter 2).

It is in Bernstein and Díaz (1985) where we found a specific conceptualization of the relationships between the pedagogic discourse and the context of reproduction.

“... es posible formular la tesis de que una teoría de reproducción pedagógica debe integrar la relación entre discurso, práctica y espacio, los cuales como elementos constitutivos del contexto de reproducción del discurso educativo integran las condiciones políticas, sociales, institucionales, técnicas y teóricas de reproducción-transformación de las relaciones sociales relevantes al campo de producción y a las modalidades de control simbólico, se articulan en el discurso

pedagógico dominante y en su gramática intrínseca la cual celebra una distribución de poder dada.”⁹⁸ (Bernstein and Díaz 1985, 117-118)

“El contexto de reproducción puede considerarse como regulado por un conjunto de reglas institucionalizadas, constituidas como Discurso Pedagógico. Desde esta perspectiva, es posible suponer que la estructura organizativa del contexto de reproducción está determinada por los presupuestos (conceptos y teorías) y las reglas del Discurso pedagógico. Sin embargo, las determinaciones entre el Discurso Pedagógico y el contexto de reproducción son recíprocas. Esto significa que existe una interacción entre el Discurso Pedagógico y el contexto de reproducción. Cambios en los principios y reglas (y en los conceptos y teorías subyacentes) del Discurso Pedagógico pueden producir cambios en la estructura organizativa y en las prácticas del contexto de reproducción. A su vez, cambios en la estructura organizativa y en las relaciones sociales de este último, pueden producir cambios en los principios y presupuestos del Discurso Pedagógico.”⁹⁹ (Bernstein and Díaz, 1985; 144 – 145)

Although in Bernstein and Díaz (1985) the concepts of context of reproduction and organizational structure refer mainly to the educational system and its levels and agencies, they also establish that the school level can be considered as such (Bernstein y Díaz, 1985; 138). Which Bernstein also suggests in some of the references we have already made.

Finally we have to consider the internal dynamics of the pedagogic discourse.

“The model allows for considerable internal dynamics in the production, distribution, reproduction, and change of pedagogic discourse.

1. Dominant principles themselves refer to an arena of conflict rather than to a stable set of relations.
2. There is a potential or actual source of conflict, resistance, and inertia between the political and administrative agents of the official recontextualizing field.

⁹⁸ We offer here a personal translation of the quotation. “It is possible to formulate the thesis that a theory of pedagogic reproduction must integrate the relationships between discourse, practice and space, which as constitutive elements of the context of reproduction of the educational discourse integrate the political, social, institutional, technical and theoretical conditions of the relevant social relations to the field of production and to the symbolic control modalities, which are articulated in the dominant pedagogic discourse and in the intrinsic grammar which celebrates a given distribution of power.”

⁹⁹ We offer here a personal translation of the quotation: “The context of reproduction can be considered as regulated by a set of institutionalized rules, constituted as the Pedagogic Discourse. From this perspective, it is possible to assume that the organizational structure of the context of reproduction is determined by the assumptions (concepts and theories) and the rules of the Pedagogic Discourse. However, the determinants between the Pedagogic Discourse and the context of reproduction are reciprocal. This means that there is an interaction between the Pedagogic Discourse and the context of reproduction. Changes in the principles and rules (and in the underlying concepts and theories) of the Pedagogic Discourse might produce changes in the organizational structure and in the context of reproduction practices. In turn, changes in the organizational structure and in the social relations of the latter, might produce changes in the principles and assumptions of the Pedagogic Discourse.”

3. There is a potential or actual source of conflict, resistance, and inertia between the positions within the pedagogic recontextualizing field, and between it and the official recontextualizing field.
4. There is a potential or actual source of conflict, resistance, and inertia between the primary cultural context of the acquirer (family /community /peer relations) and the recontextualizing principles and practices of the school.
5. Transmitters may find themselves unable or unwilling to reproduce the expected code of transmission.” (Bernstein, 1990a; 199-200)

The above references are some of the main sources from which I elaborate the possibility of constructing a specific language of description for school organizations from the perspective of the theory of pedagogic discourse. But at the same time those references stress, in a way, a kind of subordinated position of these descriptions in relation with descriptions of the classroom and descriptions of the educational system level. To be fair, those references stress the fact that within Bernstein’s own development there is the possibility but this is not particularly deployed and fully elaborated.

Here, in contrast to what I have commented about the position of the organizational level in the context of the pedagogic code theoretical and empirical development, the gap between macro and micro level is filled by the concept and function of the field of reproduction and the possibility of making descriptions of the role of the organizational level in the process of the production /recontextualization of the pedagogic discourse down to the sites of its reproduction.

Nevertheless, there is still the need to connect external regulations and internal regulations in the production of the pedagogic discourse of reproduction. Which in terms of empirical realizations of the codes and discourses have to do, for example, with problems of internal control (framing) at the school level and its translation to the classroom level.¹⁰⁰ This has also to do with how a given regulative discourse external to the organization effects the transmission and the production of pedagogic identities; which is the function and actual power of the specific regulative discourse in a given organization to influence the transmission in relation with the official pedagogic discourse or other external discourses, perhaps from the pedagogic recontextualizing field.

¹⁰⁰ Elaborations in this sense can be found in Bernstein (2000; chapter 4): “Official knowledge and pedagogic identities: The politics of recontextualization.”

Part of the responses to these questions are, once again, given by Bernstein in the already mentioned appendix to the “Pedagogic codes and their modalities of practice” article in the second edition of *Pedagogy, symbolic control and identity* (2000; 23 – 24). In response to the criticism that the code theory does not generate organisational descriptions Bernstein proposes the concept of “Pedagogic culture”:

“... we need to have a concept whose relations are dependent upon the pedagogic code but which also regulates the code. This concept would embrace the fundamental regulation of the **mode of being** of the agency.” (Ibid. 24. Original emphasis)

“Pedagogic culture is the mode of being of the agency’s social relations as they cope with its bias, shape, stability and economy.” (Ibid. idem)

The four interrelated components of the pedagogic culture are:

Shape: which refers to the social division of labour of discourse, transmitters and acquirers (classificatory principle), and the social relations (framing). A change in the code may effect the shape and its governance.

Stability: the governance of the reproduction of the code. A change in the code entails problems of conflict and consensus, of order and reproduction.

Economy: the management of resources (symbolic, human, material) that any code modality requires.

Bias: this regulator is extrinsic to the code and it effects the criteria the agency has to meet. It is externally imposed by “some power (e.g. State). The external bias may also influence the expected management orientation.

“Shape and stability are intrinsic to code modality, bias and economy are not, but all four are components of the regulative discourse of the agency and its external regulation.” (Bernstein, 2000; 24)

9.3 Elaborations towards an internal language of descriptions of educational organizations. Notes for a theoretical model.

From the above now I can attempt to construct a theoretical model trying to combine the different levels of the conceptualization presented up to now, which are derived from Bernstein's work, with the outcomes of my research.

The transmission of knowledge, the pedagogic practice, as the realization of a pedagogic code modality, is regulated and, recursively, produced by an **organizational pedagogic discourse**, which in a given organizational context internally recontextualizes pedagogic discourses external to the organization. These external pedagogic discourses come from the official recontextualizing field, the State, the pedagogic recontextualizing field (in which it may be considered besides the agencies defined by Bernstein: universities, publishing houses, teacher training institutions, organizations of the field of production which demands and pressure to some educational outcomes) and the local pedagogic discourse which refers to the communities that the acquirers of the organization belong to.

When I refer to internal recontextualization I am referring to the regulation produced by the internal (enacted) division of labour and internal social relations which are realized by subjects whose practices, in turn, are regulated by those interactions and the moral regulation produced organizationally in terms of a specific regulative discourse of the organization. The recontextualizing rules of this specific regulative discourse are the interrelations of specific rules of order, relation and identity that are realized and, recursively, produced by the social relations in the organization. It is the specific regulative discourse that configures the social order that is a precondition for the transmission and which gives the orientation of the meanings of the transmission. Then the modality of pedagogic code realized at a given institution is produced and regulated by the organizational pedagogic discourse.

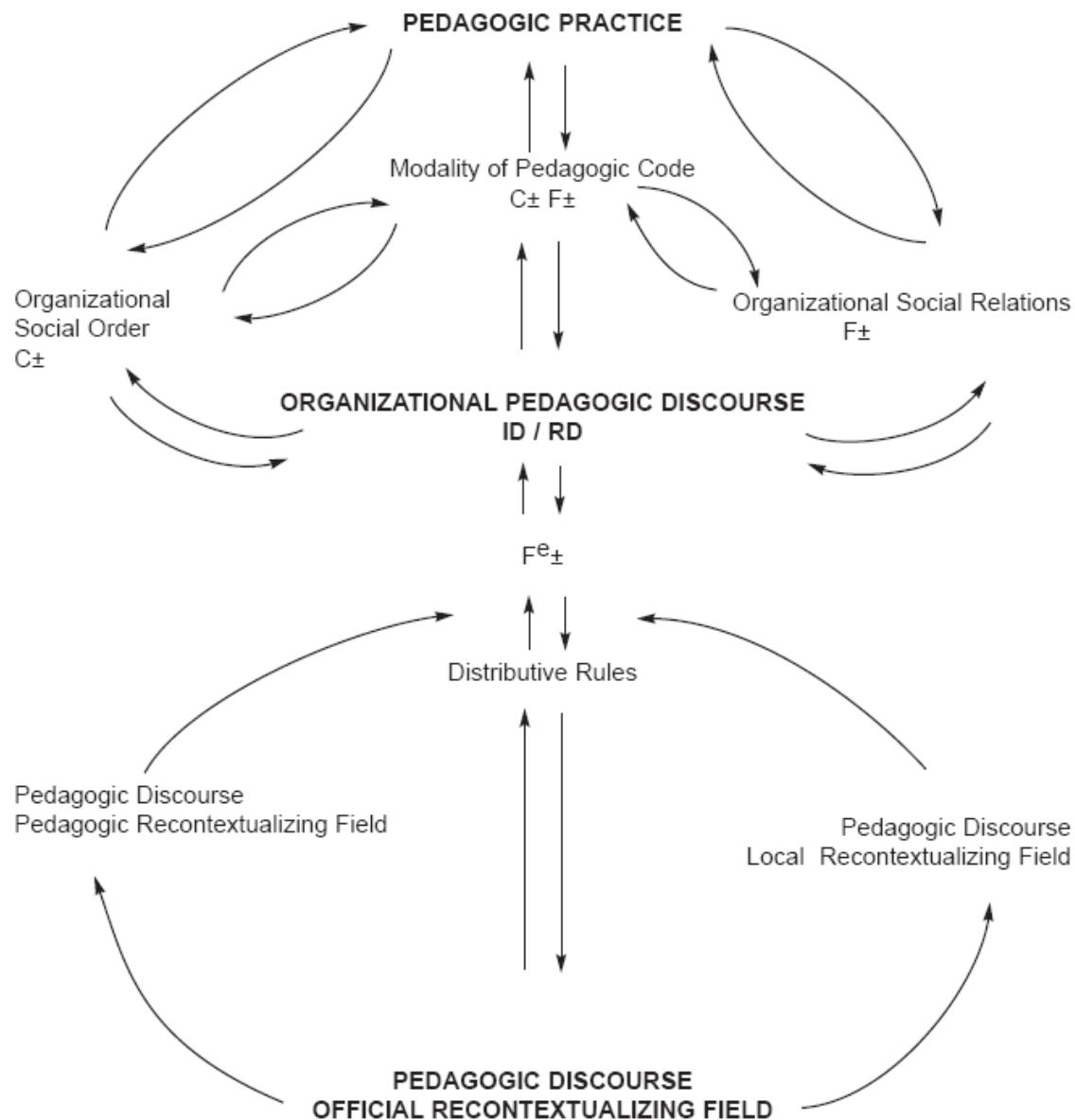
The specific regulative discourse of the organization –enacted in and produced by the social relations- regulates the power relations which create classificatory principles that produce the voices of the categories which are realized, modified and produced in the

social relations that control the production, reproduction, transmission and acquisition of the organizational pedagogic discourse. This is a specific instructional discourse embedded in a specific regulative discourse.

Individual educational organizations generate their own principles to recontextualize external pedagogic discourses. This local recontextualization would generate different pedagogic practices under the same official pedagogic discourse or it can produce conflict and potential change of the official pedagogic discourse or other external pedagogic discourse, which might be acting over the organization.

The organizational pedagogic discourse has external and internal sources of principles for recontextualizing external meanings. The external sources are the dominant principles of the society, which are inserted and translated (through distributive rules) in the recontextualizing principles of the official pedagogic discourse; the pedagogic discourses produced in the pedagogic recontextualizing field and the local pedagogic discourses from the local communities of the students. The internal source of recontextualization is constituted by the interpenetrated relationships of the positional setting (classification) and social relations (framing) realized in the organization, which are related to problems of governance of the reproduction of the social order.

From another level of analysis, the recontextualization in a given organization of symbolic control is also differentially regulated according to the degree and effectiveness of external control, be the State or other source of external power (this depends on the configuration of the field of symbolic control in a society), over the bias and focus of the pedagogic discourse, over its “outputs” (pedagogic identities) and over its economy (material and symbolic resources). However this external control will be internally processed, recontextualized, in different forms (resisting, ignoring, opposing, coupling) according to internal configurations of the organizational practices and internal control over social relations; which may produce different degrees of consensus, integration, conflicts, and governance problems for the reproduction. These internal configurations of the organizational practices and internal control over social relations produce the social order that regulates the pedagogic practice and the meanings transmitted.

Figure 9.1: Theoretical model: organizational regulation of transmission

Now I would like to go a step further in the model introducing some of the development of Bernstein's concept of "pedagogic culture". I think it is possible to use the components of pedagogic culture (shape, stability, economy and bias) but in a different set of conceptual relations. Instead of using pedagogic culture it is possible to put in relation the concept of organizational pedagogic discourse with the concepts that constitute

what Bernstein calls the pedagogic culture. I think that the use of pedagogic discourse at the level of the organization expresses in a sharper form the complex recursive relations, and it does in a form not only or directly related to the code but including it.

The State gives the dominating official bias to the instructional and regulative discourse. Agencies of the recontextualizing field struggle for imposing their own biases. The bias set the criteria a given educational organization has to meet. Realized forms of external control gives, or not, discourse space to the recontextualization of the discourse depending on the mandatory principles the bias “imposes” to the organization and the internal (organizational) configuration of order and social relations. External pedagogic discourses biases (mainly official, the State) give, as well, the focus of the discourse (social skills, academic, vocational), the orientation to meanings of the code and the regulative or instructional emphasis. The bias and its focus are external to the code.

Organizational Pedagogic Discourse is a recontextualizing principle at the level of the organization which regulates the context of reproduction. The specific organizational regulative discourse is constituted by principles of: government (governance of social relations, regulated autonomy and internal economy of resources), principles of transmission of knowledge (classification and framing), and principles of discursive bias.

Principles of government refers to the criteria on how (who, how, what, to whom) social relations are conducted in producing and reproducing a social order. Government here refers to the control of the social relations within the school in relation with autonomy, which refers to tension between external and internal regulations. It also refers to the governance of internal economy of resources (symbolic and material).

Principles of transmission of knowledge in terms of the division of labour of discourses, transmitters and acquires (classification) and social relations (framing).

Bias of the pedagogic discourse is a regulative discourse element which establishes the emphasis of the organizational pedagogic discourse, a particular orientation to meanings. It has a direct relation with pedagogic identity production (in relation with the other elements of the pedagogic discourse).

We may say that these three set of principles of the specific regulative discourse are a sort of translation, at the level of the organization, of the elements of order, relation and identity used to define the dominance of regulative discourse.

In order to realise the code there is a need for symbolic and material resources, the economy. A given code needs resources to be realised, it demands specific resources. A lack in resource may affect the possibilities of the realisation of the code. Economy is external to the code and it is inserted in the external regulative discourse that is, in turn, internally processed by the governance of the resources.

The hierarchical rules, which are given by the specific regulative discourse, are enacted through specific strategies the school develops in order to realise and reproduce the organizational pedagogic discourse. These strategies become the government of the reproduction. It should be bare in mind what was presented above, that the specific regulative discourse is realized and recursively produced by the social relations in the organization.

The theoretical elaboration we have attempted was done on the basis of the research we have conducted. But as this model was not available at the stage of designing the research, so it needs empirical research to test it and also the public discussion, both in the academic community and in the context of educational organizations.

In the next section I shall present an elaboration towards the construction of an external language of description, upon the results of applying the research strategy we used for the thesis and the theoretical elaborations we have done in this section.

9.4 Elaborations towards an external language of description of educational organizations

Here we shall present an approximation to formalise an external language of description of educational organizations and then we will make a brief review of the research strategy we have used for our research, hence assessing it.

The external language of description has to address the problem of describing how the realisations of a given code are regulated at the organizational level (e.g. school). It has to describe regulations on the code realisations, particularly with regard to sources, principles and enactments. Therefore there should be descriptions of extrinsic and intrinsic regulations of the code modality. At the same time the description must be capable to describe the organizational principles of social order that regulate the pedagogic practices, their relationships with the Official Pedagogic Discourse, and, more particularly, it must allow to identify the tensions in the organizational realization of the discourse.

These tensions can be found in the forms of control and power relations that give orientation to the meanings produced by the organization. This should be interrelated with the pedagogic identities and potential conflicts and sites of potential change produced by those tensions. At the same time that describing the code modality of the organization (its external and internal values) and the organizational pedagogic discourse; it should be capable of comparing code realizations, as well as relating them with the official pedagogic discourse and other discourses external to the organization. The forms, bias and focus of the organizational pedagogic discourse should be described in function of the tension between the general regulative discourse and the specific regulative discourse of the studied organization.

The language should be capable to describe a single organization but it should also allow to show similarities and differences between organizations, as well as to show variations and change.

In order to describe these regulations it is necessary to discriminate analytically and then describe what configures the five elements of the external language of description:

- a) what is regulated,
- b) the enactment of the regulation,
- c) the source of the regulation,
- d) the regulatory criteria and,
- e) the bias the regulation gives to the regulated.

a) What is regulated: this is the transmission of knowledge, which can be described in terms of the modality of the pedagogic code (EO/C^{ie} F^{ie}) and its realization in pedagogic practices. The pedagogic discourse is also subject to regulation, here it has to be described the relation between instructional discourse and regulative discourse.

b) The enactment of the regulation: this is to describe how the regulation takes place, how it is realized externally (from outside the organization) and internally (within the organization and between the organization and the outside). The main description here is about social order and social relationships; forms of control, governance, resistance, conflict and potential change. This is how the regulation is produced and reproduced and its tensions. In this description the governance of the economy of the resources (material and symbolic) should also be considered.

c) The source of the regulation: the description of pedagogic discourses external to the organization (official, from the recontextualizing field, local of the community) and internal, which is the proper organizational pedagogic discourse. Sources of the regulation are also related with the correspondent realization of distributive rules of the pedagogic device in those pedagogic discourses, in terms of social groups positioning towards knowledge. Further, the description of the matrix of social order and social relations (both internal and external) from which the pedagogic discourse is produced and reproduced is required.

d) The regulatory criteria: the underlying principles of the regulations in two interconnected levels, the principles of classification and framing of the code modality, the recontextualizing rules of the organizational pedagogic discourse and, also, their specific relations.

e) The bias the regulation gives to the regulated: this is the relation between the constructed meanings of the transmission of knowledge, the types of knowledge transmitted and the pedagogic identities that are produced.

The five elements of the language do not have a time relation, in the sense that in doing research someone cannot start from element (a) and finish with element (e) because

the empirical references cannot be found in that order, as they are in a complex context of communicative and social relations. Nevertheless there is a sort of spatial logic, which goes from more visible elements – (a) and (b)-, to rather invisible elements -(c) and (d) - and (e) which has both visible and invisible empirical references. This sort of spatial setting might have consequences in terms of a time logic for the analysis; although it is not possible to set a sequence rule for the analysis, it could be very difficult to do the analysis without having descriptions of (a) and (b).

The five elements of the external language of description can be, in turn, translated into the four research areas we have designed for our research: transmission, organizational relations (internal and external), pedagogic identities and change potential. These four research areas, in a way, set a strategy to gather the empirical data in order to make the data available for the external language of description.

I now portray a brief assessment of the research strategy we have used in order to improve its potential for empirical research and to make it available for further investigations. We shall consider each research area separately.

Transmission (Teaching regulation)

The main focus of this area of research is on the regulation/s of teaching, its constraints and possibilities. In order to do this, in our research, we designed two different levels or sub-areas to be enquired: (1) what is taught and how, and (2) what regulates the teaching and how. These refer to both pedagogic code and pedagogic discourse. It leads to what counts as legitimate transmission (what and how) and which social order makes the transmission possible.

We initially defined within teaching contents issues about curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation, because the last two were related to describe “teaching contents”. However, in the process of the research and its analysis we finally considered distinguishing them, using the three-message system structure, plus two more elements, which might influence the transmission, what we call biographical possibilities and institutional possibilities.

This research area is finally composed by:

- a. Teaching contents (Official curriculum, Curriculum at the organization)
- b. Pedagogy
- c. Evaluation
- d. Biographical possibilities (staff and students)
- e. Institutional (CENS) pedagogic possibilities (types of possible constraints and their origins)

As we designed our research in order to have variations we needed to have a sample, which allowed us finding variation. This had an effect in terms of the economy of the research and we could not afford to make classroom descriptions. I think that a weakness of the research strategy was that we did not make descriptions of actual pedagogic practices. Although it was not an impediment to describe the transmission it would give it a better understanding. I conducted other piece of research (Graizer et al.; 2007) which also had a sample which made it difficult to manage data from classroom descriptions. There I designed a methodology to study evaluations (exams) and this worked as a way to have a better sense of the pedagogic practice in a rather economic way, without doing classroom descriptions.

Another problem we had was that we did not find strong instructional theories among the staff, which did not allow us using them in a similar way to how it works in the model constructed by Daniels (1987). We had to use other references to construct the description of regulative discourse elements; and this is presented in the next research area.

Organizational relationships (external and internal)

This area of inquiry focuses on the organizational relationships: (1) external relationships (State, counterpart institution [CI], and other organizations) and (2) internal relationships. This refers to tensions, agreements, cleavages and autonomies, which arise out of the various institutional relations. This section is about positions and their social relations; social order and its reproduction; governance and conflict.

With respect to external relationships we should consider a two-way arrow: how the relationship is configured from outside (e.g. external state control) and how the relationship is

configured from within the school towards the outside. Here governance over economy should be considered.

Internal relationships refer to the social relationships which are those where the organization itself is realized, where a given pedagogic discourse and a pedagogic code is realized. Via the description and study of the social relations it might be possible to describe the social order of the school, its tensions, contradictions and cleavages. The description of the social relations and the social order would allow having access to the configuration of meanings constructed in the school, as the social order and its dynamic are what make transmission possible and they are the relay of the legitimate order and the legitimate discourse. Through the description of the social order and the social relations we were capable of describing the pedagogic discourse and particularly the regulative discourse.

With respect to regulative discourse (order, relation and identity) we developed a way to have access through some empirical references, which refer to classificatory principles, relative positioning, enacted social relations, forms of control and its tensions. We do this in our research, together with other descriptions (e.g. discourse and agents classification), through the process of intake and internal selection and a detailed description of the social relations at the organizational level (governance, tensions, conflicts, deviances). These allow examining the principles underlying the distribution of staff and students and the response of both to such distribution.

In the original design of our research we included a specific description of the systems of punishment and rewards. Although it did not give us much information for the specific kind of schools we were studying, I still consider it is a valuable spot of description in order to access to specific regulative discourse.

Pedagogic Identities

In this area of research the focus is on the expected results (identities) of the school and how they are constructed (internally and externally to the organization). The description here seeks types of identities, their resources and the relations towards the construction of identities.

Pedagogic identities can be understood as the result of the projection of a given pedagogic discourse and the acquisition of a given pedagogic code. As a projection of the pedagogic discourse a discursive space is created in terms of what is expected and it is constructed in the process of the realization of a given code modality. Hence, the description of the pedagogic identities is significant in its own, but it also helps describing the pedagogic discourse. In turn, this would allow comparing official, local and organizational pedagogic identities, and relate them to pedagogic discourses and recontextualizing processes.

Possibilities of change

This area of research is concerned with understanding the possibilities of change in the schools and how those possibilities are produced. The constraints on these possibilities are a major focus of the area.

The language of description should be capable to distinguish between change and variation. It is necessary to develop a set of procedures that enable us describing potential change. The aspects to be described would be sites and orientations of the possibilities of change, the sources of those possibilities, the tensions and the contradictions that generate a space of possibilities of change and whether change has some bias or orientations in a given realization of pedagogic codes and discourses.

Here we found some troubles at the stage of the analysis because the issue about change was present across the rest of the areas of enquiry and I think that the procedures to gather this kind of data have to be refined.

The four research areas should work both for making single organization descriptions and to compare a set of organizations showing similarities and variations. In both cases the description should allow comparing the organizational pedagogic discourse with external pedagogic discourses, particularly those produced in the official recontextualization field.

9.5 Final comments

The main object of the thesis was to contribute for the production of a specific language of description of organizations of the field of symbolic control, within the general framework of the theory of Basil Bernstein. Despite theoretical and empirical research must be done to make the best possible approximation, I think that we accomplished the aim of contributing with a small piece of theoretical and methodological elaborations to the larger scope of a sociology of the transmission of knowledges in our societies.

The attempt to develop some theoretical and methodological contributions was done through a “recursive relation” between theory and an empirical research (in secondary schools for adults of the city of Buenos Aires). From Bernstein’s theory this is the only way to produce theory that allows understanding the “world” external to itself, to test if the theory “works” in the field of what is being researched, to produce a language “capable of going beyond the descriptions created by members” (Bernstein, 2000; 135), as well as “showing both the strengths and limits of the theory” (Ibid; 139).

The research was conducted in the field of adult education in Argentina where as I referred in the introduction of the thesis, I started working as a teacher and then involved in different positions of the field until it became an area of study and research. Yet, my interest particularly was, and still is, on specialized agencies working on transmission of knowledge to adult people. The descriptions we made of the schools might also be a source to debates outside the academic community about the organizations for adult education. The research opens questions about the “effects” of those particular schools and how they are achieved. Effects that are not always perceived, even the desired ones, by those involved in the field of adult education, and possibly it is not visible how those effects are produced. However I believe that it is of crucial importance to produce research and descriptions of educational organizations that are at stake of policies and in the social debate.

From a more general scope since the early Nineties, in Argentina as in most of Latin-American countries, educational organizations have been object of criticisms, demands and normative prescriptions about how they should be and should work, which are in-

serted in discourses that hide and naturalize the ideological loads and the governance power over conducts of both subjects and organizations that are enacted. These discourses effect the views the subjects have over their own present and future. In this context some questions should be made among others: what type of knowledge is distributed to different social groups, what form the organizations take that reproduce those different knowledges, what kind of future is being constructed in those organizations for different social groups. Empirical research and theory is needed to offer a consideration to public debate supported upon other points of view and potential different standpoints.

Since I started this research and due to all the work done until now, because of the thesis and what I learned from Basil Bernstein, my interest has turned to the study of educational organizations in general as objects of study, in the context of a sociology of transmission of knowledges.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Apple, Michael (1992): "Education, culture, and class power: Basil Bernstein and the neo-marxist sociology of education" *Educational Theory*, Vol. 42 (2), pp. 127-145.
- Apple, Michael (2002): "Does Education have Independent Power? Bernstein and the question of relative autonomy. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, Vol. 23, 4, pp. 607-616.
- Arnot, Madeleine and Reay, Diane (2006): "Power, pedagogic voices and pupil talk: the implications for pupil consultation as transformative practice", in Moore, R.; Arnot, M.; Beck, J. and Daniels, H. (Eds.) (2006): *Knowledge, Power and Educational Reform. Applying the sociology of Basil Bernstein.*, London: Routledge Taylor and Francis.
- Atkinson, Paul (1995): "From Structuralism to Discourse: Bernstein's Structuralism." in Sadovnik, Alan (ed.) 1995: *Knowledge and pedagogy: the sociology of Basil Bernstein*. New Jersey: Ablex Publishing.
- Ball, Stephen J. (1990): "Management as moral technology: A Luddite analysis" in Ball, S.J. (Ed.) (1990): *Foucault and Education*, London: Routledge, pp. 153-166.
- Ball, Stephen J.; Fischman, Gustavo E. and Gvirtz, Silvina (Eds.) (2003): *Crisis and Hope: The Educational Hopscotch of Latin America*. New York: Routledge/Falmer.
- Ball, Stephen. J. (2000): "Performativities and Fabrications in the Education Economy: towards the Performative Society". *Australian Educational Researcher*, 17 (3): 1-24.
- Ball, Stephen (1990): *The micro-politics of the school*. Towards a theory of school organization. London: Routledge.
- Beck, John (1999): "Makeover or Takeover? The strange death of educational autonomy in neo-liberal England" *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, Vol. 20, No. 2, pp. 223-238.
- Beltrán Llavador, Francisco y San Martín Alonso, Angel (1989): *Guía para el estudio organizativo de centros escolares*, Valencia: NAU Llibres.
- Berger, Peter y Luckmann, Thomas (1995): *La construcción social de la realidad*. Buenos Aires: Amorrortu Editores.
- Bernstein, Basil (1966): "Sources of consensus and disaffection in education", *Journal of the Association of Assistant Mistresses*, 17, pp4-11.
- Bernstein, Basil (1967): "Open Schools, open society?". *New Society*, 14.
- Bernstein, Basil (1971): "On the classification and framing of educational knowledge", in Young, M.F.D. (ed.) *Knowledge and Control*. London: Collier Macmillan.
- Bernstein, Basil (1973a): *Class, Codes and Control. Vol. I*. London: Paladin.

- Bernstein, Basil (1973b): *Class, Codes and Control. Vol. II. Applied Studies towards a Sociology of Language*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Bernstein, Basil (1977): *Class, Codes and Control. Vol. III. Towards a Theory of Educational Transmissions*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Bernstein, Basil (1981): "Codes, modalities, and the process of cultural reproduction. A model." *Language and society*, 10, pp. 327-363
- Bernstein, Basil (1990a): *The structuring of pedagogic discourse. Volume IV. Class, codes and control*. London: Routledge.
- Bernstein, Basil (1990b): "Poder, control y principios de comunicación", en Bernstein, Basil: *Poder, educación y conciencia*. Barcelona: El Roure.
- Bernstein, Basil (1996): *Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity. Theory, Research, Critique*. London, Taylor & Francis.
- Bernstein, Basil (2000): *Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity. Theory, Research, Critique*. Maryland, USA: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Bernstein, Basil (2001): "From Pedagogies to Knowledges", in Morais, A.; Neves, I.; Davies, B. & Daniels, H. (Eds.) (2001): *Towards a sociology of pedagogy: The contribution of Basil Bernstein to research*. New York: Peter Lang
- Bernstein, Basil and Solomon, Joseph (1999): "Pedagogy, Identity and the Construction of a Theory of Symbolic Control: Basil Bernstein questioned by Joseph Solomon", *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, Vol. 20, No. 2, pp. 265-279
- Bernstein, Basil y Díaz, Mario (1985): "Hacia una teoría del Discurso Pedagógico". En: *Revista Colombiana de Educación* (15), pp. 107-154.
- Bernstein, Basil; Peters, R. & Elvin, L. (1966): "Ritual in education". *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, Series B. 251 (72).
- Boudon, Raymond (1974): *Education, Opportunity and Social Inequality*. New York: John Willey.
- Bourdieu, Pierre; Chamboredon, Jean Claude; Passeron, Jean Claude (1995); *El oficio del sociólogo*. México: Editorial Siglo Veintiuno.
- Brown, Andrew (2006): "Languages of description and the education of researchers" in Moore, R.; Arnot, M.; Beck, J. and Daniels, H. (Eds.) (2006): *Knowledge, Power and Educational Reform. Applying the sociology of Basil Bernstein.*, London: Routledge Taylor and Francis
- Cherkaoui, M. (1977): "Bernstein and Durkheim: two theories of change in educational systems", *Harvard Education Review*, Vol. 47, pp. 556-564

- Cook-Goompertz, Jenny (1975): *Social control and socialization: a study of class differences in the language of maternal control*, London: Routledge & Keagan,
- Dale, Robert (1997); "The state and the governance of education: an analysis of the restructuring of the education–state relationship", in Halsey, A.H., Lauder, H., Brown, P. & Stuart Wells, A. (Eds.) (1997): *Education, Culture, Economy and Society*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 273–282.
- Daniels, Harry (1987): "An enquiry into different forms of special school organisation; pedagogic practice and pupil discrimination", C.O.R.E., 12 (2).
- Daniels, Harry (2001): "Bernstein and Activity Theory" in Morais, A.; Neves, I.; Davies, B. & Daniels, H. (Eds.) (2001): *Towards a sociology of pedagogy: The contribution of Basil Bernstein to research*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Daniels, Harry (2004): "Activity, discourse and pedagogic change". Third International Basil Bernstein Symposium, Clare College, Cambridge, 15-18th July 2004.
- Daniels, Harry and Creese, Angela with Hey, Valerie and Leonard; Diana (2004): "Gendered learning identity in two modalities of pedagogic discourse" in Muller, Johan, Davies, Brian and Morais, Ana (2004): *Reading Bernstein, Researching Bernstein*. London: Routledge Falmer
- Davies; Brian (1995): "Bernstein, Durkheim and the British Sociology of Education." in Sadovnik, Alan (ed.) 1995: *Knowledge and Pedagogy: The Sociology of Basil Bernstein*. New Jersey: Ablex Publishing.
- de Marinis, Pablo (1999): "Gobierno, gubernamentalidad, Foucault y los anglofoucaultianos (O un ensayo sobre la racionalidad política del neoliberalismo)." en: Ramos Torre, Ramón y García Selgas, Fernando: *Globalización, riesgo, flexibilidad. Tres temas de la teoría social contemporánea*. Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociales.
- Dean, Mitchell (1995): "Governing the unemployed self in an active society", in: *Economy and Society*, 24, pp. 559-583.
- DEAyA (1993): Circular N°2 /93. Secretaría de Educación. Municipalidad de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires.
- Díaz, Mario (2001): "Subject, Power, and Pedagogic Discourse" in Morais, Ana; Neves, Isabel; Davies, Brian; Daniels, Harry (2001): *Towards a Sociology of Pedagogy. The contribution of Basil Bernstein to Research.*, New York: Peter Lang
- Domingos, Ana M (1989): "Influence of the Social Context of the School on the Teacher's Pedagogic Practice."; *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, Vol. 10, 3, pp. 351-366.
- Douglas, Mary (2002 [1966]): *Purity and Danger. An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. New York: Routledge Classics Ed.

- Dowling, P.C. (1999): "Basil Bernstein in Frame: 'Oh dear, is this a structuralist analysis'". Presented to the School of Education, Kings College, University of London. 10 December 1999. <http://www.ioe.ac.uk/ccs/kings1999>. Consulted August 2001.
- Durkheim, Emile (1985 [1893]): *La división del trabajo social*. Planeta - Agostini, Barcelona.
- Durkheim, Emile (1993 [1912]): *Las formas elementales de la vida religiosa*. Madrid: Alianza Ed.
- Durkheim, Emile y Mauss, Marcel (1963 [1903]): *Primitive Classification*. The University of Chicago Press,
- Elias, Norbert (1990): *La sociedad de los individuos*. Barcelona: Península.
- Elias, Norbert (1993 [1939]): *El proceso de la civilización. Investigaciones sociogenéticas y psicogenéticas*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Elias, Norbert (1999 [1970]): *Sociología fundamental*. Barcelona: Editorial Gedisa.
- Emirbayer, Mustafa (ed.) (2003): *Emile Durkheim: Sociologist of Modernity*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Fernández, Lidia (1994): *Instituciones educativas*. Buenos Aires: Ed. Paidós.
- Filmus, Daniel (1992): *Demandas Populares por Educación. El caso del movimiento obrero argentino*. Buenos Aires: Aique.
- Filmus, Daniel (2001): "La escuela media frente al mercado de trabajo: cada vez más necesaria y cada vez más insuficiente". In: Braslavsky, Cecilia (comp.). *La educación secundaria. ¿Cambio o inmutabilidad? Análisis y debates de procesos europeos y latinoamericanos contemporáneos*. Buenos Aires: Santillana.
- Foucault, Michel (2007): *Nacimiento de la Biopolítica. Curso en el Collège de France (1978-1979)*. Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Gallart, M. Antonia (2006): *La construcción social de la escuela media*. Buenos Aires: La Crujía ediciones y Editorial Stella.
- Giddens, Anthony (1987): *Las Nuevas Reglas del Método Sociológico*. Buenos Aires: Amorrortu Editores.
- Giddens, Anthony (1995): *La Constitución de la Sociedad. Bases para la teoría de la estructuración*. Barcelona, Amorrortu Editores.
- Graizer, Oscar L. (1999): "Escuela como organización". *Revista Científica de la Universidad del Salvador*, Año 1, N° 1. <http://www.salvador.edu.ar/uc2-1210.htm> (consultada Diciembre 2006)

- Graizer, Oscar L.; de Marinis, Pablo, Gomez, Manuel, Tommasi, Cristina (2007): *La invención del 3° ciclo de EGB. Análisis de una estrategia de extensión de la educación básica obligatoria.*, Buenos Aires: EUS.
- Hickox, Mike and Moore, Rob (1995): "Liberal-Humanistic Education: the vocationalist challenge." *Curriculum Studies*, Vol. 3, (1). 45-59.
- Holland, Janet (1981): "Social class and changes in the orientations to meanings", *Sociology*, 15, (1), pp. 1-18.
- INDEC (1996): "Informe Annual Encuesta Permanente de Hogares." Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Economía, INDEC.
- Jones, Lynn y Moore, Rob (1995): "Appropriating Competence: the competency movement, the New Right and the 'culture change' project." in *British Journal of Education and Work*, Vol. 8 (2), pp. 78-92.
- King, R (1976): "Bernstein's sociology of the school: some propositions tested", *British Journal of Sociology*, 27, pp. 430-443.
- King, R (1981): "Bernstein's sociology of the school", *British Journal of Sociology*, 32, pp. 259-265.
- Lambert, Royston, Millham Spencer & Bullock, Roger (1970): *Manual to the sociology of the school*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- Marhuenda, Fernando (2000): *Didáctica general*, Madrid: Ediciones de la Torre.
- Marx, Karl (1987 [1873]): *El Capital. Crítica de la Economía Política*. México: Siglo XXI Editores.
- Miller, Peter and Rose, Nikolas (1990): "Governing Economic Life". *Economy and Society*, Vol. 19 N°1, pp. 1-31.
- Monza, Alfredo (2002): *Los dilemas de la política empleo en la coyuntura argentina actual*. Buenos Aires, CIEPP y Fundación OSDE.
- Moore, Rob (2001): "Basil Bernstein: theory, models and the question of method", *International Journal Social Research Methodology*, 2001, Vol. 4, N°. 1, 13 – 16.
- Moore, Rob; Arnot, Madeleine; Beck, John. and Daniels, Harry (Eds.) (2006): *Knowledge, Power and Educational Reform. Applying the sociology of Basil Bernstein.*, London: Routledge Taylor and Francis.
- Morais, A.; Neves, I.; Davies, B. & Daniels, H. (Eds.)(2001): *Towards a sociology of pedagogy: The contribution of Basil Bernstein to research*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Morais, A.M. and Neves, I.P. (2001) 'Pedagogic social contexts: studies for a sociology of learning', in A. Morais, I.P. Neves, B. Davies and H. Daniels (Eds.) *Towards a*

Sociology of Pedagogy: The Contribution of Basil Bernstein to Research, New York: Peter Lang.

Morais, A.M., Neves, I.P., Medeiros, A., Peneda, D., Fontinhas, F. and Antunes, H. (1993) *Socialização primária e prática pedagógica: Vol. 2, Análise de aprendizagens na família e na escola*. Lisbon: Gulbenkian Foundation.

Morais, A.M., Peneda, D., Neves, I.P. and Cardoso, L. (1992) *Socialização primária e prática pedagógica: Vol. 1*. Lisbon: Gulbenkian Foundation.

Morais, Ana (1999): "Is There Any Change in Science Educational Reforms? A sociological study of theories of instruction", *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, V. 20, 1, 37 – 53.

Muller, Johan, Davies, Brian and Morais, Ana (2004): *Reading Bernstein, Researching Bernstein*. London: Routledge Falmer.

Orellano, Miguel y Rosendo, Ernestina (2004) "Escuela, trabajo y transiciones juveniles: la década de los '90 como bisagra para pensar una relación Conflictiva." *Cuadernos de Antropología Social* Nº 19, pp. 139-155, 2004.

Parsons, Talcott (1999 [1951]): *El Sistema Social*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial.

Pedro, Emilia (1981): *Social stratification and classroom discourse*. Stockholm: CWK Gleerup.

Power, S. and Whitty, G. (2002): "Bernstein and the Middles Class". *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, Vol.23, 4, pp. 595 – 606.

Rampton, Ben (1999): "Dichotomies, Difference and Ritual in Second Language Learning and Teaching". *Applied Linguistics*. 1999, 20 (3) pp. 316-34.

Riquelme, Graciela (2000): "La educación formal y no formal de los trabajadores: diferenciales para el área metropolitana, regiones y por ingresos." Programa MECOVI Argentina. INDEC. BID-BM-CEPAL. Buenos Aires

Riquelme, Graciela (2000): "La educación formal y no formal, la ocupación y los ingresos de los trabajadores." III Congreso Latinoamericano de Sociología del Trabajo. ALAST. Buenos Aires. Mayo.

Riquelme, Graciela (2004): *La educación secundaria antes y después de la reforma*. Buenos Aires: Miño y Dávila-UBA.

Riquelme, Graciela (con la colaboración de Herger, Natalia) (2001): "La educación y formación de los trabajadores: un abordaje comparativo de resultados en la EDS-97 y la EPH-98. Buenos Aires: SIEMPRO.

Rodríguez, Lidia (1991): *La educación de adultos en Argentina*. En Puiggrós, A. (Dir.): *Sociedad civil y Estado en los orígenes del sistema educativo argentino, en Historia de la Educación en la Argentina, Tomo II*, Buenos Aires: Galerna.

- Rodríguez, Lidia (1997): *"Pedagogía de la liberación y educación de adultos"*, en Puiggrós, A. y otros. *Dictaduras y utopías en la historia reciente de la educación argentina (1955-1983)* Tomo VIII Historia de la Educación en la Argentina. Buenos Aires: Ed. Galerna.
- Roitenburd, Silvia (Dir); Foglino, A; Abratte, J. (2005): *Los Centros Educativos de Nivel Secundario de la DINEA. Pasado y presente de experiencias pedagógicas alternativas para alumnos adultos*. Córdoba: Ed. Brujas.
- Rose, Nikolas (1989): *Governing the Soul: the shaping of the private self*, London: Routledge.
- Rose, Nikolas (1996a): "Governing 'advanced' liberal democracies." In A. Barry, T. Osborne, & N. Rose (Eds.), *Foucault and Political Reason: Liberalism, neo-liberalism and rationalities of government*. London: UCL Press.
- Rose, Nikolas (1996b): "The death of the social? Re-figuring the territory of government". In: *Economy and Society* 25 (3), pp. 327-356.
- Rose, Nikolas, and Miller, Peter (1992): "Political power beyond the State: problematics of government" in *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol 43 N°2 June, pp. 173-205.
- Sadovnik, Alan (ed.) 1995: *Knowledge and Pedagogy: The Sociology of Basil Bernstein*. New Jersey: Ablex Publishing, Norwood.
- Secretaría de Educación CBA (1994): Decreto 349/ SED /94. Municipalidad de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires.
- Secretaría de Educación CBA (1999): "Informe sobre la Educación Media de Adultos en la Ciudad de Buenos Aires". Dirección General de Planeamiento, Ciudad de Buenos Aires.
- Secretaría de Educación GCBA (2003): "Matrícula de los CENS en la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires". Dirección de Programación Educativa, Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires.
- Simmel, Georg (1932 [1908]): *Sociología. Estudios sobre las formas de socialización*. Buenos Aires: Espasa-Calpe.
- Simmel, Georg (2002 [1917]): *Cuestiones fundamentales de sociología*. Barcelona: Gedisa.
- Singh, Parlo (2001): "Pedagogic Discourses and Student Resistance in Australian Secondary Schools." In Morais, A.; Neves, I.; Davies, B. & Daniels, H. (Eds.)(2001): *Towards a sociology of pedagogy: The contribution of Basil Bernstein to research*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Tenti Fanfani, Emilio (compilador) (2003): "Educación media para todos". Buenos Aires: IIPE-Altamira-Fundación OSDE.
- Tönnies, Ferdinand (1942 [1931]): *Principios de sociología*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.

- Tönnies, Ferdinand (1947 [1887]): *Comunidad y sociedad*. Buenos Aires: Losada.
- Tyler, William (1982): *The sociology of the school: a review*. London: Social Science Research Council.
- Tyler, William (1991 [1988]): *La organización escolar*. Madrid: Morata.
- Tyler, William (2004): "Silent, invisible, total: pedagogic discourse and the age of information." in Muller, Johan, Davies, Brian and Morais, Ana (2004): *Reading Bernstein, Researching Bernstein.*, London: Routledge Falmer.
- Van Haecht, Anne (1999): *La escuela va a examen. Preguntas a la sociología de la educación*. Buenos Aires: Biblos – Miño y Dávila,.
- Varela; Julia y Álvarez Uria, Fernando (1991): *Arqueología de la escuela*. Madrid: Las ediciones de La piqueta.
- Weber, Max (2004 [1922]): *Economía y sociedad*. Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Whitty, Geoff (1990): "The New Right and the National Curriculum: state control or market forces?", in Flude, M. & Hammer, M. (Eds): *The Education Reform Act 1988: its origins and implications*. Basingstoke, The Falmer Press.
- Whitty, Geoff (1997): "Marketization, the State, and the re-formation of the teaching profession", in: Halsey, A.H., Lauder, H., Brown, P. & Stuart Wells, A. (Eds) (1997) *Education, Culture, Economy and Society*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 299–310.
- Wiñar, David (2001): *La formación laboral dependiente de la Secretaría de Educación del Gobierno de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires* (SEGCBAs), Cinterfor/OIT, Montevideo.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: LIST OF CENS IN THE CITY OF BUENOS AIRES**Counterpart Institutions (CI)**

No Data (N:12)	Trade Unions (N: 31)	Private Employers ¹⁰¹ (N: 6)	State Employers (N: 14)	Associations (N: 6)
-------------------	-------------------------	--	----------------------------	------------------------

Technical orientation: 9 CENS

	N/D	TRADE UNIONS	PRIVATE EMPLOYERS	STATE EMPLOYERS	ASSOCIATIONS
Electromechanichs (N: 1)			■ Aguas Argentinas (Water Supply Company)		
Administration & software on insurance (N: 2)		■ Sind. Seguro (Insurance Workers) (2)			
Telecommunication (N: 1)		■ FOETRA (Telephonyc Workers'Union)			
Telecommunication & Computer technology / Software (N: 1)					■ AMOYEM (Coop. of Municipality Workers)
Natural Resources (N: 1)		■ ATE (State Workers'Union)			
Computer techcnolgy. Software (N: 3)		■ C.Sub Oficiales Penitenciaria Nacional Argentina (Penitentiary National Sub-officers) ■ Sindicato Empleados de Comercio (Commercial Workers) ■ Unión Empleados de la Justicia (Judicial Workers)			

¹⁰¹ All the "Private Employers" were state companies which have been privatised in the last 7 years.

Administrative orientation: 50 CENS

	N/D	TRADE UNIONS	PRIVATE EMPLOYERS	STATE EMPLOYERS	ASSOCIATIONS
Administration of enterprises (N:27)	7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ SUPE (Oil/petrol workers) (2) ■ Sind. E. de Comer. (Commercial Workers) ■ Asoc. Bancaria (Bank Workers) ■ Asoc. Enfermeros C.F. (Nurse workers) ■ CIRSE (Army Sub-officers Union) ■ UPCN (State Workers) ■ SEDEBA (Workers in Education) ■ C.Suboficiales Policia Federal (Fed. Police Sub-officers' Union) ■ SAT (TV Workers' Union) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Ferrocarriles Argentinos (Railways) ■ Aguas Argentinas (Water Supplier) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Armada Argentina (Argentinian Navy) ■ EMGE. Min. Defensa (Ministry of Defence) ■ Inst. Obra Social (Social Security) (2) ■ Gendarmeria Nacional 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ CONSUDEC (2) (Superior Council of Catholic Education) ■ F.Veteranos de Guerra (Federation of Malvinas War Veterans)
Harbour Administration (N: 1)				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Administración Gral. de Puertos (Harbours General Administration) 	
Administration of cooperatives (N: 1)					<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Asociación Cooperativa "Coopera"
Public Administration (N: 14)	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ ATE (State Workers) ■ UPCN (State workers) ■ SEDEBA (Workers in Education of the City) ■ SOEME (Ministry of Education Workers) ■ ENCOTEL (Arg. Mail Workers) ■ UOEM (Municipality Workers) ■ APUBA (University of Buenos Aires Workers) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ ENCOTEL (Arg. Mail) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Ministerio de Salud y Acción Social (Ministry of Health and Social Security) (2) ■ Ministry of Government ■ INAP (Institute of the Public Administration) ■ Parliament of the City of BA 	
Legislative Administration (N:2)				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ National Senate ■ Serv.Penit.Fed. (Federal Penitentiary Service) 	
Taxes & Bank Techniques (N: 3)	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Asoc. Bancaria (Bank Workers) ■ UOEM (Municipality Workers) 			
Costs Techniques (N: 1)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ ATE (State Workers Union) 			
Specialist on customs (N: 1)				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Administración Nacional de Aduanas (National Customs Administration) 	

Health, social work and communication orientations: 10 CENS

	N/D	TRADE UNIONS	PRIVATE EMPLOYERS	STATE EMPLOYERS	ASSOCIATIONS
Labour Relationships & Labour Hygienic (N:2)	1	■ ASIMRA			
Social Work (N:1)		■ A.P.O. Previsión Social			
Social Communication (N: 1)		■ UTPBA (<i>Press Workers' Union</i>)			
TV realisation (N: 1)			■ A.T.C. (<i>State TV channel</i>)		
Community Development (N: 1)					■ Movimiento de Villas y Barrios Carenciados
Nurse Auxiliar (N: 3)	1	■ UOEM (<i>Municipality Workers</i>) (2)			
Police Techniques (N: 1)				■ Federal Police	

APPENDIX II: RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

Carta de presentación a los directivos de los CENS.

Sr/a. Director/a

Me dirijo a usted a efectos de informarle acerca de la investigación que me encuentro realizando en CENS de la Capital Federal y en el Gran Buenos Aires en el marco de mis estudios de doctorado.

Dado el bajo desarrollo de la investigación educacional en el país y los intensos cambios que se están produciendo tanto a nivel general cuanto para la educación de adultos en particular, la investigación pretende generar información acerca de los diferentes tipos de problemas que los CENS enfrentan en este momento y cómo los propios CENS ven las posibilidades de cambio y mejora para su trabajo en la formación de adultos.

Toda la información relevada en el transcurso de la investigación será totalmente confidencial, ninguna institución o persona será identificada de modo alguno. El tratamiento de los datos y su posterior publicación se hará, sin ninguna referencia particular a instituciones o personas que hayan participado de la investigación.

La investigación se desarrollará en dos etapas, la primera de las cuales será el relevamiento de información en nueve CENS, entrevistando a los directores de los mismos, miembros de la Entidad Conveniente y una breve encuesta a los docentes de cada CENS. La segunda etapa consistirá en entrevistas a docentes y estudiantes de esos CENS seleccionados al azar.

Desde ya agradezco su colaboración y sin más le saludo atentamente

Lic. Oscar Luis Graizer

INTERVIEW TO DIRECTORS

1. When did you start working in this CENS as the director?

2. How did you get this position?

3. Years of service in direction:

3.1- in general

3.2- in adult education

4. Years of service in teaching:

4.1- in general

4.2- in adult education

5. Had you taught in this CENS before you became director?

YES / NO

5.1- If YES, For how long?

Now we are going to approach some general aspects of the school life and results...

6. What do you think is the main contribution of the school to the students? (work, social, domestic)

7. Is the contribution the same for all the students?

7.1- If NO, why do you think there are those differences?

7.2- If YES, Why do you think there is no difference?

(In case the response were focused on the students expectations: Does the CENS contribute in aspects what are not expected by the students when they started their studies here?)

8. How does the school achieve those effects/contributions?

9. Are you satisfied with those effects?

10. Are there anything you think would be improved?

11. In your opinion, what are the possibilities of bringing this about?

12. Would it be difficult to achieve? How long do you think this would take?

13. To what extent with respect to the development of the students has the CENS any responsibility with CI

DEAYA

Inspector

Others (you want to add)

Curriculum

Talking now about the curriculum of the CENS...

14. Are you satisfied with the official curriculum of the school? (206/83)

15. What about the range of subjects?

16. What do you think about the type of emphasis the curriculum has?

17. How far does the specialisation affect other parts of the curriculum?

18. Would you like to change anything?

19. As the director of the CENS do you have any freedom to make changes in the curriculum? with respect to the following aspects (subjects, contents, evaluation)

20. Are you satisfied with the degree of freedom you have?

20.1- If no, How much autonomy do you think directors should enjoy?

21. Do other directors share this view?

22. What about the counterpart institution? (if it is adequate to ask)

Students

Changing to the students the CENS has...

23. Can you describe in general terms the type of students that you have currently in the school? (consider to re-ask after the director answers the question aspects like: social-economic status, education, type of jobs, attitude to the school and to the learning, etc.)

24. Does the CENS have any special function for those students who are unemployed?

Do you think should be special CENS for unemployed people?

25. Could you describe how the incorporation of students takes place?

26. Do you have any criteria to incorporate / accept students?

25.1- If YES, What?

27. As far as I know the new regulation for the CENS prescribes a “diagnosis workshop” for the first year students, What do you think about it?

28. How do you develop the workshop at this school?

29. Do some of your students fail to complete the course?

30. Can you tell me about those students?

31. Why do you think they leave the course?

32. Generally speaking, When this happened?

33. Could anything be done about it?

34. What kind of students does well in this school? (How would you describe ...)

35. What kind does not so well?

36. Have you recently had to deal with a “difficult” student?

37. Can you tell me what happened?

38. Can you tell me about the student?

39. How did you deal with that situation?

Evaluation

Now, about how the students are evaluated...

40. Are you satisfied with the methods of assessment?

41. Do all your teachers share similar ways of assessing?

42. Do your teachers share similar standards?

Teachers and teaching

We were talking about students and evaluation, lets go to the teaching in the school...

43. Do you give any guidelines to the teachers for teaching in the CENS?

43.1- If so, what guidelines?

43.2- If no, why not?

44. How do you feel about the teachers in your school?

45. In general terms, to what extent are you satisfied with the teachers you have working at the CENS for example with respect to:

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Little satisfied	Dissatisfied
Academic level				
Teaching achievement				
Interpersonal relations				
Involvement in the CENS				
Relations with the students				

46. Every director seems to have a private way of classifying his teachers, is this the case for you?

47. Did you select the teachers for this CENS?

46.1- If so, How do you select the teachers?

48. What is the main criterion to select the teachers for this school?

49. Are you satisfied with the selection procedure?

50. Would you like to select the teachers in another way that you have been doing it?

50.1- If so, What way?

51. In this CENS to what extent the teacher have freedom to decide about:

	1 large	2 some	3 little	4 non
teaching content of their subject				
teaching methods				
students assessment content				
students assessment methodology				

52. Are you satisfied with the present arrangement?

51.1- If not, what do you think should be changed?

53. Not all the teachers are “angels” to work with, do you feel this is the case in your school?

54. What kind of "problem" do you have with these teachers? How do you deal with that?

Managing the CENS

Going now to your work as director...

55. Every director has his own way of management (conducting/running), can you tell me your own way?

56. What, could you say, was the major influence in your way of managing?

57. Would you say your way is similar to other directors?

58. If no, how do you think you differ from other directors?

59. How do you think the teachers view your way of management?

60. And what about the students view?

61. Every way of managing has its successes and its difficulties, can you tell me about them?

62. Are there any constraints which you feel affect how you manage the school?

63. If you had an ideal situation would your style change?

64. In what way could your work made easier?

65. Is there any person in your life who has impressed you as a teacher?

66. What was there about this teacher that impressed you?

67. Is there any one who has impressed you as director? Why?

68. Do you have any relationship with organizations where the students are working or might work in the future?

68.1- If YES,

68.1.1 What kind of organizations are they?

68.1.2 What are the aims of those relations?

68.1.3 What do you do with them?

68.2- If no, why?

68.2.1- Do you think you should have any?

68.2.2- If YES, with what kind of institutions?

68.2.3- If NO, why? (just in the case that was not answered before)

69. Are there any resource you would like to have more of?

70. Is there any possibility to get more of those resources?

70.1- IF YES What do you think can be a way to get those resources?

70.2- IF NO, Why?

71. Why have you decided to be director of a CENS?

72. Why not in other kind of school?

Counterpart Institution

Every CENS has a CI ...

73. How do you see your relation with the CI?

74. Does the CI share your view of this relation?

75. What kind of support does the CI give to the CENS?

76. How does the CI support you in your work as the director of the CENS?

77. In your opinion what should be improved on that relationship?

78. What kind of response would this improvement require from the CI?

79. What from the CENS?

80. In your view, what influence does the CI have in the students (formation)?

Association

81. As far as I know some CENS have an association (cooperadora)

82. Do you have one here?

83. What for? (functions)

84. Who do participate on it?

85. How do you collect the money?

86. What happened with those who do not pay anything?

87. Who are they?

88. What kind of activities does the cooperadora use the money?

89. What kind it does not give money for?

90. Could you get the money in any other way?

91. How do you make decisions on the money?

PIP

As far as I know every year the CENS prepare a PIP...

92. How do you go about developing your PIP?

92. 1 IF HAS

92.1.1 Who was the main influence in the design of the PIP?

92.1.2 Did you have any problem in getting agreement? Were any disagreement? What? With whom?

92.1.3 Is there something you disagree with and is still part of the PIP? what?

92.1.4 Is there something missed, something you think should be incorporated and wasn't?

92.1.5 Are there any change in the PIP for this year in relation with the last year?

92.2 IF DOES NOT HAVE

92.2.1 Why?

92.2.2 Would you like to have one?

92.2.3 What would you like to plan in it?

COUNCIL

93. Do you have a CENS Council?

IF YES

94. What do you think about the CENS Council, is it helpful to manage the school?

95. What are the main issues discussed in the Council?

96. What are the less important issues?

97. Who generally speaks most?

98. Who generally does not speak?

99. Who brings up the issues?

100. In this kind of meetings usually there are some people that is likely to disagree whatever the decision, Is this the case here?

101. What were the most important issues discussed in the last meeting?

102. Did the CI take part in the last meeting? What was its contribution?

103. Can you tell me how is the Council agenda constructed?

104. How do you decide to call a meeting? What does influence you?

IF NO,

105. Why do not have it?

106. Would you like to make it?

107. What issues would you discussed in the Council?

108. Who do you think have to participate in the Council?

Relation with the DAE

Now talking about the DAE (Department of Adult Education)

- 109. What kind of contacts do you have with the DAE?
- 110. Who are the people from the DAE you have often contact?
- 111. What kind of information do you receive from the central level (DAE)?
- 112. How often?
- 113. What kind of information do you have to transfer to the DAE?
- 114. How often?
- 115. Do you know what they do, at DAE, with that information?

- 116. Are you satisfied with the relation with the DAE?
- 117. Why?
 - 117.1 If no, what would you expect from the DAE?

Inspector

- 119. How often do you have inspection?
- 120. What does the inspector do when he/she visits the CENS?
- 121. What kind of information do you receive from the inspector?
- 122. What kind of information you must provide to the supervisor?
- 123. Are you satisfied with the relation with the inspector?
- 124. Why?
 - 124.1 If not, what would you expect from the inspector?

- 125. In what cases do you ask either for help or advise or intervention by the inspector?

To finish with the interview I would like to know some general information about yourself...

- 126. Do you have any other jobs?
 - 126.1 - Teaching jobs
 - 126.2 - Non Teaching jobs

- 127. Are you looking for another job?
 - 127.1 If so, what kind of job?

128. Age:

129. Gender:

130. Married:

YES / NO

131. Children:

132. About the position:

- By "public competition"
- Provisional

133. Training and formation:

133.1- Degree and year of graduation

133.2- Awarding Institution

133.3- Courses, seminars, related with teaching practice.

133.4- Courses, seminars, related with school direction practice.

TEACHERS' QUESTIONNAIRE

CENS #

INTERVIEWER

DATE

QUESTIONNAIRE #

1.- Teaching subject(s) and year (group)

2.- Training and formation:

2.1 - Degree and year of graduation _____

2.2 - Awarding Institution _____

2.3 - Courses, seminars, related with your teaching practice

3.- Years of service in teaching:

3.1- in general _____

3.2- in adult education _____

3.3- in this CENS _____

4.- How did you start to work in this CENS?

5.- Do you have any other jobs?

YES ____

NO (*go straight to question 6*) ____

if YES, 5.1- Teaching jobs

. in another CENS _____

. in other educational level (specify) _____

. in directive tasks (specify, i.e. secretary, director) _____

5.2- Non-Teaching jobs

. specify _____

6.- Are you looking for another job?

YES __

NO __ (*go straight to question 7*)

6.1 If YES Could you briefly say why?

6.2.- What kind of job?

6.2.1- Teaching job

6.2.1.1- Educational level _____

6.2.1.2- Kind of task (classroom, directive, secretary)

6.2.2- Non teaching job ____

6.2.2.1- what kind of job? _____

7.- What books or authors do you think have been important for teaching the contents of your subject?

(*not necessarily books you give to the students but for your self*)

8.- What books or authors do you think have been important for your work as a teacher, for your pedagogy? *(not necessarily books you give to the students but for your self)*

9.- In your life (as pupil, student, teacher) Was there any person who impressed you as a teacher *(who served as a model for your approach of teaching)*?

YES ☐

NO ☐ *(go straight to question 11)*

10.- (if YES) Can you tell me what was there about this teacher that impressed you?

11. In the following chart you have a list of possible aims of a CENS for the students formation, could you tell me which ones do you consider are the most important ones and which ones the less ones for this CENS *(ask for what is going on in here (the real ones, not what they would like)*

	Important	Not very important
a- - to improve students prospects at work		
b- - to help students improving their conditions to find a job		
c- - to prepare students for higher education		
d- - to develop students understanding of being a citizen in Argentina		
e- - to improve students basic skills		
f- - to develop confidence in them self		
g- Another one which is not in this list <i>(specify)</i>		

12.- From the former list, what aims do you consider are the most important for this CENS? (*just right down the letters*)

13.- Now I am going to name you some of the “actors” who are related with your teaching work at the CENS. To what extent do you feel responsible for each of them in your teaching work? (*go one by one*) (*For a teacher, to 'be responsible' also means to 'be accountable'. From this point of view, to whom and to what extent do you feel responsible?*)

	A lot	Some	Small	None
To your students				
To your inspector				
To your CENS				
To your colleagues				
To your headteacher				
To yourself				
To society				
Others (specify)				
.....				

14.- To what extent are you free to decide what to teach?

1	2	3	4
large	some	little	no freedom

15.- To what extent are you free to decide how to teach?

1	2	3	4
large	some	little	no freedom

16.- To what extent are you free to decide the contents for assessing the students?

1	2	3	4
large	some	little	no freedom

17.- To what extent are you free to decide forms of assessing the students?

1	2	3	4
large	some	little	no freedom

Now I am going to present you some aspects related with the CENS life, ...

18.- Can you tell me to what extent are you satisfied with the following aspects?

	1. Very satisfied	2. Satisfied	3. Little satisfied	4. Dissatisfied	5. d/k
a) contents of your subject					
b) discipline					
c) teaching methodology					
d) curriculum specialisation of the CENS					
e) relations between teachers					
f) “” teachers - students					
g) “” director - students					
h) “” teachers - director					
i) “” teachers - counterpart institution					
j) “”director - counterpart institution					
k) subjects taught					
l) methods of assessment					
m) how the school is run					
n) students selection / intake					
o) students attitude					
p) teachers attitude					
q) professional level of the teachers					

19.- Can you tell me what of those aspects should be changed?

	1. Should be changed	2. Should not be changed	3. d/k
a) contents of your subject			
b) discipline			
c) teaching methodology			
d) curriculum specialisation of the CENS			
e) relations between teachers			
f) "" teachers - students			
g) "" director - students			
h) "" teachers - director			
i) "" teachers - counterpart institution			
j) ""director - counterpart institution			
k) subjects taught			
l) methods of assessment			
m) how the school is run			
n) students selection / intake			
o) students attitude			
p) teachers attitude			
q) professional level of the teachers			

20.- Can you tell me to what extent do you think they are possible to be changed? (*only those aspects the interviewee has marked in the prior question*)

	1. Very easy	2. Easy	3. Difficult	4. Very difficult	5. d/k
a) contents of your subject					
b) discipline					
c) teaching methodology					
d) curriculum specialisation of the CENS					
e) relations between teachers					
f) "" teachers - students					
g) "" director - students					
h) "" teachers - director					
i) "" teachers - counterpart institution					
j) ""director - counterpart institution					
k) subjects taught					
l) methods of assessment					
m) how the school is run					
n) students selection / intake					
o) students attitude					
p) teachers attitude					
q) professional level of the teachers					

21.- Age:

< 25	
26 - 30	
31 - 35	
36 - 40	
41 - 45	
46 - 50	
51 - 55	
56 - 60	
> 60	

22.- Gender:

Female	
Male	

23.- Are you married:

YES	
NO	

24.- Do you have children

YES	
How many?	
NO	

Time:

Observations:

TEACHERS' SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

We are going to talk firstly about general issues of the school, then we are going to chat about your work here as a teacher and finally we are going to look at some specific issues of the institution.

We will start talking about the students and the contribution of the CENS to them...

1. What do you think is the main contribution the school makes to the students? (work, social, general formation, domestic)

2. Do you think the contribution is the same to all the students?

2.1- IF NO, why do you think there are such differences?

2.2- IF YES, Why do you think there are no differences?

(In case the response were focused on the students expectations: Does the CENS contribute in aspects what are not expected by the students when they started their studies here?)

3. In your opinion how the school accomplishes those effects/contributions?

4. Are you satisfied with those effects?

5. Are there anything you think would be improved to achieve the results you expect/wish?

6. In your opinion, what are the possibilities of bringing this about?

7. Would it be difficult to achieve?

8. What do you think is the main contribution your subject is giving to the students with respect to the following aspects:

- general formation
- work
- civic (*not for all of them*)
- domestic

9. Do you think teaching your subject is successful in all those areas or just in some?

10. In which ones?

11. Why?

12. What kind of students does well in this school?

13. What kind does not so well?

14. How do you think this failure comes about?

15. There are some students who leave the school..

16. What kind of students are they?
17. Why do you think this happened to them?
18. What do you think is possible to do about this?

Now I am interested in your view about the curriculum of the school and how it is worked out specifically here

...

19. Are there any guidelines about your teaching in this school?
20. What are they?
21. How detailed?
22. How reach?
23. Who have made them?
24. How much room do you have over what you teach?

25. Are you satisfied with the official syllabus of your subject?

25.1- If Not, what would you like to change?

26. What about the range of subjects?
27. What about the distribution of time to the subjects?
28. Most of the teachers seem to have total freedom for selectioning the contents of teaching, but they say, at the same time, "the contents should be changed" and they do not change them, why do you think this is happening?

29. How do you select and organise:
the contents,
the materials,
the distribution of time and
the activities

30. Did you construct the subject by your self?
31. Do you discuss with other people about the subject? (consider whether or not there are general guidelines)

Now lets go into your own work teaching here at the CENS...

32. What would you say are the general aims of your teaching?
33. Do you have different teaching strategies for different groups of students?
- 33.1.1- If YES: What are they?

- 33.1.2- Why do you have those different teaching strategies?
- 33.2.1- If NO: How would you describe your general teaching strategy?

34. Are there any constraints on how you would like to teach?

35. If so, what

36. How would you like to teach?

37. What conditions does it require?

38. What should change to allow you to teach in that way?

39. Do you give to the students any homework?

39.1.1- IF YES, What kind of task?

39.1.2- Do they do what you ask?

39.2.1- IF NO , Why?

Moving to the assessment issue tell me ...

40. What are your aims for assessing the students?

41. How do you evaluate the students?

42. What kind of instruments do you use?

43. How often?

44. What do you focus when you assess the students?

- content
- reasoning
- skills
- presentation
- effort / personal characteristics of the students

45. How do you prepare the examinations for your students?

46. How do you take into account when you assess the students non academic aspects of the students?

Now I would like to know about the CI and its relationship with the CENS...

47. Does the CI have any effect in the teaching in this school?

48. Do you have any contact or relationship with the IC?

48.1.1- if YES, What kind of contact?

48.1.2- Are you satisfied?

48.1.3- if NO, How would you like to improve in the relationship?

48.2.1- IF NO, would you like to have any contact?

48.2.2- what kind of contact?

49. What would you expect from them?

50. Do you think the CI has any influence on the students formation?

50.1.1- if YES, what kind of influence?

50.2.1- if NO, Do you think it should have?

50.2.2- If yes, What kind of influence?

50.2.3- If no, why not?

Let me ask you some few questions about your point of view about the director ... (here I reminded the people about the confidentiality of the data)

51. How do you think the director is running the school? *(not your opinion of his person)*

52. Do you think he/she should do anything that he is not doing now?

53. In what aspect does the director support you in your teaching work?

54. How do you think is your experience here compared with other type of school in which you have taught?

55. What would make your teaching easier?

56. What does difficult your work to teach in this CENS?

Now we are going back to more general issues about the CENS as an institution ...

57. What feature do you think identify or differentiate this CENS from the others? or from other schools *if the teacher does not know other CENS*

58. How do you feel about the students intake / incorporation?

59. What do you think about the diagnosis workshop?

60. As far as I know the school has a new PIP for this year, Have you any opinion about it?

61. How does the CENS Council works in this school?

62. If there is not Council, do you think should be one?

62.1- what for?

63. Do you have any contact with other institutions that are somehow related with the school specialisation, the students current or future work or studies?

63.1.1- IF YES, Which ones?

63.1.2- What do you do with them?

63.2.1- IF NO, Do you think you should?

63.2.1.1- YES, with which for instance?

63.2.1.2- what for

63.2.2- NO, why?

64. Do you have any contact with the school inspector?

64.1.1- If YES, What kind?

64.1.1.1- Are you satisfied with the relation

64.1.1.2- why?

64.1.2- If NO, what relation would you like to have with the inspector?

64.2.1- IF NO, Would you like to have some relation with the inspector?

64.2.2- What?

Now we will turn on the relationships between teachers and students and teachers...

65. In comparison with other schools how do you feel about the relation with the teachers?

66. Are there some you feel more congenial?

67. Why?

68. How about the relation between professional and academic teachers?

69. In any school there are teachers who have more influence upon the school, is this the case here?

70. In what aspects? (management, interpersonal relation, academic areas, methodology, relation with the students etc.).

71. Who could you say are playing those roles in the school?

72. How do you *recognise* a bad student?

73. What is for you an ideal relation between teacher and students? *specify in the case of adult students*

74. What do you think is a bad student behaviour in this school?

75. What about a bad teacher behaviour?

76. What do you think is your main responsibility with the students as their teacher?

77. Why do you work in a school for adult people?

78. Did you decide it upon any purpose to work in this type of schools and not in others?

Three last brief questions ...

79. If you have more time what would you be able to do in this school that now you cannot?

80. Say that the school had better economic resources, what would you ask to improve your work as teacher?

81. Do you think there are issues which can be improved and that do not depend on a matter of money?

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STUDENTS

CENS N°: ____

Year: ____

Group: ____

1. Age (*Tick with an x that one you select*)

18 or less	<input type="checkbox"/>	40 - 44	<input type="checkbox"/>
19 - 24	<input type="checkbox"/>	45 - 49	<input type="checkbox"/>
25 - 29	<input type="checkbox"/>	50 - 54	<input type="checkbox"/>
30 - 34	<input type="checkbox"/>	55 or more	<input type="checkbox"/>
35 - 39	<input type="checkbox"/>		

2. Sex (*Tick with an x that one you select*)

Female ☐

Male ☐

3. Marital status

Single ☐

Married ☐

Divorced ☐

Widowed ☐

4. Number of children (If any)

1 ☐

2 ☐

3 ☐

4 or more ☐

5. When you started the CENS you had ...

Completed primary ☐ Bachelor ☐

Not finished secondary in... ☐ Commercial ☐

Technical ☐ Other, *specify* _____ ☐

6. In what year did you leave the secondary school

1° ☐

2° ☐

3° ☐

4° ☐

5° ☐

7. When have you started in this CENS

1992 ☐

1993 ☐

1994 ☐

1995 ☐

1996 ☐

8. ¿Do you have any job?

YES ☐ (go to question N°9)

Housewife ☐ (go to question N° 10)

NO ☐ (go to question N° 10)

9. If you have a job, ¿what is at this moment? (go to question N°12)

10. If you do NOT have a job, ¿since when are you without a job?

6 months or less ☐

Between 1 - 2 years ☐

Between 6 months - 1 year ☐

More than 2 years ☐

11. ¿What was your former job?

12. I came to this CENS for... *(Tick with an x all you want)*

a- - to improve my prospects at work	
b- - to improve my conditions to get a job	
c- - to prepare my self for higher education	
d- - to develop my understanding of being a citizen in Argentina	
e- - to improve my basic skills (i.e. reading, writing, calculating, etc.)	
f- - to develop confidence in my self	
g- other not considered in the list, <i>specify</i>	

13. Please choose the two most important if you ticked more than two. *(Write the letters what apply to your selection)*

14. ¿Do you think your stay here will help you to achieve your expectations?

NO ☐ (continue at the following question, N° 15)

YES ☐ (go to question N° 17)

15. If your answer to the former question was NO, please tick those which are the causes you think your initial expectations will not be realised. (Tick with an x the important ones, and with other the not important)

	Important	Not important
a) the economical situation of the country		
b) the failure of the government to help people in my situation		
c) lack of the teachers in our personal learning problems		
d) too many subjects to study at the same time		
e) most of the subjects are not relevant to my needs		
f) teachers teach too quickly each topic. They change very fast from one content to the other		
g) my situation outside of the school interferes with my learning		
h) teachers overestimate what students in our situation are able to do		
i) I don't get enough support from my family		
j) there are not enough resources (i.e.: books, materials, tools) for all of us		
k) not sufficient individual attention for my needs		
l) it is mainly my own responsibility		
m) Others not considered (<i>specify</i>)		

16. Could you look at the above list and choose the TWO most important reasons
(Write the letters of your selection)

17. Why do you think your expectations have been met and others not?

	Important	Not very important
a) My home situation is more favourable than others		
b) I had better starting point of my studies than some others of the CENS		
c) I belong to a group who study together		
d) I have more time for studying than my companions		
e) Because I work in a related area of the CENS specialisation		
f) Other reason (<i>specify</i>)		

18. Which subject do you get most out of?

19. Can you say why briefly?

20. Which subject do you get less out of?

21. Are there any subject, content or skill you would like to have at the CENS and you have not had it?
(Name them in the space below)

22. Do you think your teachers are giving you ideas about how to behave and live in society?

YES ☐ (*go to the following question N°23*)

NO ☐ (*go to question, N° 25*)

23. If your answer for the former question was YES, what subjects?

24. What ideas?

25. If you had to advice how to get good results on the exams to new students of the CENS, what would you suggest them?

For the subjects of the general area

For the subjects of the specialisation

26. Would you like something to be changed in the way you are assessed?

YES ☐ (*complete the following sentence*)

I would like the evaluation be

NO ☐ (*continue in the following question, N° 29*)

27. Are there any differences between the evaluation for the general subjects and those of the specialisation?

YES ☐

What differences?

NO ☐

28. In every CENS some students leave the school early. Can you say why students not complete the course in your CENS?

29. Please complete the sentence

A good teacher for this CENS is...

30. Please complete the sentence

A good student for this CENS is ...

31. What would you like to do when you have completed your studies here?

32. What are the chances do you think you have of getting what you want? (*Tick how likely would be*)

Very likely ☐ Likely ☐ Not very likely ☐

Impossible ☐ Don't know ☐

33. What things you get punish for in this school?

34. What are the ways of punishment?

35. Who does decide over the punishment?

36. How well do the teachers know your life out side of the school?

Very well ☐ (go to question N° 37)

Well ☐ (go to question N° 37)

Not very well ☐ (go to question N° 38)

Not at all ☐ (go to question N° 38)

37. Teachers of what subjects do know Very well or well?

38. The teachers who do know “not very well” or “not at all” your life out side of the school, should they know more about it?

YES ☐

NO ☐

39. Do you find the teachers are concerned to encouraging you...

All the time ☐

Some time ☐

Rarely ☐

40. To what extent do you have influence over the following aspects?

	A lot	Some	Little	None
a) Teaching methods used by the teachers				
b) Contents of the subjects				
c) Ways of assessment				
d) Discipline at the CENS				
e) Others, <i>specify</i>				

41. In case you have “little” or “non” influence in any or all of the aspects of the list above, to what extent would you like to have influence over?

	A lot	Some	Little	None
a) Teaching methods used by the teachers				
b) Contents of the subjects				
c) Ways of assessment				
d) Discipline at the CENS				
e) Others, <i>specify</i>				

42. How is good learning rewarded in this CENS?

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW FOR THE COUNTERPART INSTITUTION

1. Name of the CI:
2. Type: (classification on the bases of the sample model)
3. Interviewee position in the organization:
4. Time in the position:
5. Time in the organization:
6. Age:
7. Gender:
8. Educational Level:
9. What are the training / formation activities you have in the organization?
10. To what target groups are addressed these different activities?
11. What is the position of the CENS in your training and formation programme?
(*What is the major contribution of the CENS to the CI? only in the case it is necessary to re-ask*)
12. How do you evaluate the cost/benefit relation of having a CENS? Why?
13. Are your expectations of the school fully realised?
 - 13.1- If no, in what respects have your expectations not been realised?
14. How far the results of the CENS formation are from the expectations of your organization?
15. Why do you think there is a gap, if any?
16. I wonder if you could tell me what an ideal CENS would contribute for your organization?

Students

17. What do you think is the main contribution of the CENS to the students? (*consider to re-ask: expertise, career, workers conduct, workers participation, civic, domestic*)
18. Are there any area / result you think should be improved?
19. Which one?
20. What do you think could be done to achieve that?
21. Are you satisfied with the CENS incorporation procedure?
 - 21.1- IF YES, why?

21.2.1- IF NO, why,

21.2.2- in your view how the incorporation should be made?

22. Does the CI participate in the students intake?

22.1- if YES, In what way?

22.2- If no, Would you like to take part in the procedure? What for?

23. What kind of student do you think does well in this school?

24. What kind does not so well?

PIP and CENS Council

25. What do you think about the PIP for this year?

25.1.1 if does know, In your view what is the most important issue to be developed in the PIP for this year?

25.1.2- Was there any problem in getting agreement?

25.1.2.1 if yes, How did disagreement come about?

25.1.2.2 What?

25.1.2.3 With whom?

25.1.3- Is there something you disagree with and is still part of the PIP?

25.1.4- Is there something omitted, something you think should be incorporated and wasn't?

25.2.1 if deos not know, would you like to participate?

25.2.2 what kind of activities would the CI suggest?

26. What do you think about the CENS Council, is it useful?

27. In what way?

28. What are the main issues discussed arise from the Council?

29. What in your opinion are the less important issues?

30. What were the most important issues discussed in the last meeting?

31. Did you have other kind meeting with people of the CENS in the last *year / months*?

Yes / No

31.1.1 If YES, How many?

31.1.2 With whom? (Director / Secretary / Teachers / Students)

31.1.3 What were the issues treated?

31.1.4 Why did you have this meeting separately of the CENS Council?

31.2.1 if NO, would you like to have

31.2.2 with whom?

31.2.3 what for?

CENS/CI relations

32. What kind of support do you give to the CENS?

33. Do you give any special support to the Director in his work of managing the school?

34. Are you satisfied with the current relations between the CI and the CENS?

35. Why?

36. If not, what do you think would improve the relation?

37. Would be any problem in bringing this about?

Direction

38. How do you feel about how the CENS IS managed?

39. Are you satisfied with it?

40. What would you suggest should be improved?

41. How do you think could be done?

Teachers

42. Are you satisfied with the teachers the CENS has?

42.1 IF NO, what do you think should be changed?

43. Does the CI participate in any way in the process of teachers selection?

43.1- If YES, in what way?

43.2.1 IF NO, Would you like to participate?

43.2.2- In what way would you like to?

43.2.3- Does the director share this view?

44. To what extent do you think the teachers should be free to decide what to teach

1	3	4	5
to a large	to some	a little	no freedom

45. To what extent of freedom do you think the teachers should have to decide how to teach

1	2	3	4
to a large	to some	a little	no freedom

46. Why have you made those choices?

CENS relations with other institutions

47. As far as I know the CENS has / has not relations with other institutions, What do you think about this?

47.1 IF the response is that should have,

47.2 With which ones?

47.3 What for?

Relation with the DAE

48. Do you have any contact with the DAE?

49. What kind of contacts do you have?

50. Are you satisfied with that relation?

51. Why?

52. If no, What relation do you think you should have?

53. Do you have any relation with the inspector of the school?

53.1.1- If YES, are you satisfied with the relation?

53.1.2- why?

53.2.1- If NO, would you like to have any contact with him/her?

53.2.2- what for?

Possibilities of change

54. Can you tell me to what extent you are satisfied with the following aspects and why?

	1. Very satisfied	2. Satisfied	3. Little satisfied	4. Dissatisfied	5. d/k
a) subjects taught					
b) syllabus					
c) teaching methodology					
d) ways of assessment					
e) curriculum orientation					
f)Rel. teachers CI					
g)Rel director CI					
h) How school is run					
i) students intake					
j) teacher attitude					
k) teachers academic level					

55. Can you tell me what of those aspects should be changed?

	1. Should change	2. No change	D/K
a) subjects taught			
b) syllabus			
c) teaching methodology			
d) ways of assessment			
e) curriculum orientation			
f) Rel. teachers CI			
g) Rel director CI			
h) How school is run			
i) students intake			
j) teacher attitude			
k) teachers academic level			

* For the private employers

What "group" of your workers have been benefited from going to the CENS?

Have you ever had any problem which you think may have something to do with the CENS?

Are there any aspect on the workers formation you think is wholly the concern of the company and not to the school?

What would an ideal student contribute to the firm?

Have you ever had such student?

* For the Trade Union

What "group" of your workers have been benefited from going to the CENS?

Have you ever had any problem which you think may have something to do with the CENS?

Are there any aspect on the workers formation you think concerns specifically to the trade union and not to the school?

What would be in your opinion an ideal formation of the students as workers?

What would be in your opinion an ideal formation of the students as unionists?

Does the CENS develop such a student?

* For the state employers

Why do you think state agencies support CENS?

As you are a state agency, do you have a common policy with the DEAYA with respect to the CENS?

Are you in full agreement with the policies raised from the DEAYA?

* For the church

Why the church is interested in supporting CENS?

How the church dogma is influencing the CENS life?

What should be the place of the catholic perspective in the teaching and in the selection of contents?

APPENDIX III: NETWORKS

In this appendix the networks used for the analysis of some of the questions of the interviews are described. They are presented according to their location by chapter. The descriptions of the networks includes the definition of each category and option that network has.

CHAPTER 5

Network 5.1: Aims for student assessment

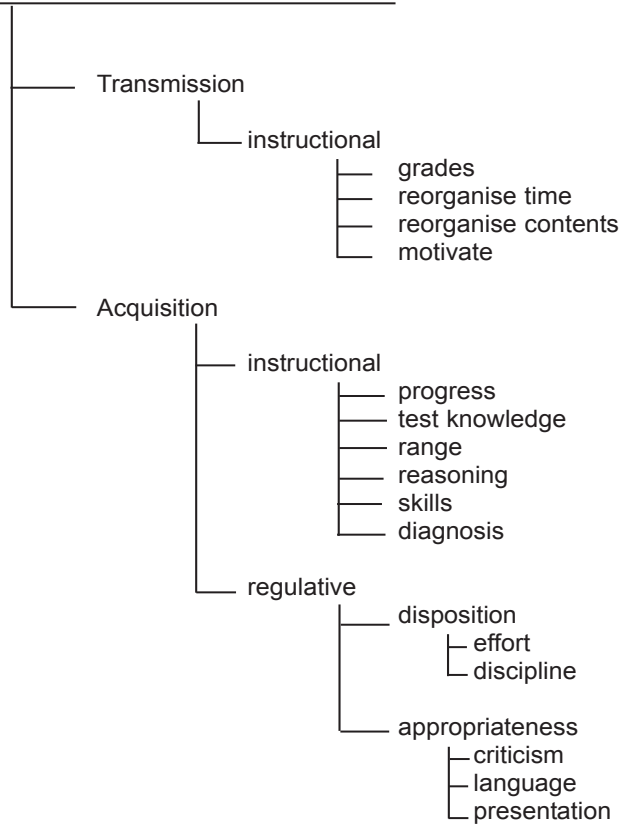
The network has two main sub-networks, **transmission** and **acquisition**. **Transmission** has one group, instructional, of four subcategories: *grades*, *reorganise time*, *reorganise contents*, *motivate*. *Grades* relates to the teachers need to have grades of the students, an administrative concern. *Reorganise time* codes answers in which the function of the assessment is to obtain information to decide whether to spend more or less time on a given content. *Reorganise contents* groups the aims of assessing students with the purpose of deciding what contents can be omitted or added. Finally assessment has the aim to *motivate* students.

Acquisition is divided into two categories: **instructional** and **regulative**. **Instructional** refer to teachers' purpose to collect information about students' acquisition of certain contents of the subject, i.e. information, specific abilities. The aims of the assessment are **regulative** when teachers see the result of their assessment as rewarding attitudes of the students towards the work or the teaching.

Instructional contains the following aims: *progress* indicates the advance of a student from her/his starting point; *test knowledge* refers to the aim to checking how deep and consistent is the student's knowledge; *range of knowledge* refers to the aim of assessing the variety of knowledge a student has about several different contents; *reasoning* groups the answers that consider the object of the assessment is to evaluate the students' use of logical procedures; *skills* refers to testing of the ability to manipulate specific tools, whether these tools are symbolic or material instruments related to the subject; the *diagnosis* refers to the purpose of assessing the capacity of the students.

Regulative contains two categories: *disposition* and *appropriateness*. *Disposition*, refers to attitudes and contains two aims of the assessment: where the students' performance reveals his/her *efforts*. This is considered to be so important that it may operate as a substitute of knowledge in the promotion of the student. *Discipline* (respect, manners) is also rewarded by the results of assessment. The subcategory *appropriateness* contains three distinctions: *criticism* refers to teachers' expectations of critical judgments on the part of the students; *language* refers to the students' use of the official constructions and vocabulary of Spanish; *presentation* refers to the state of the materials submitted by the student for assessment e.g. clean, neat, orderly, tidy.

AIMS FOR STUDENTS' ASSESSMENT

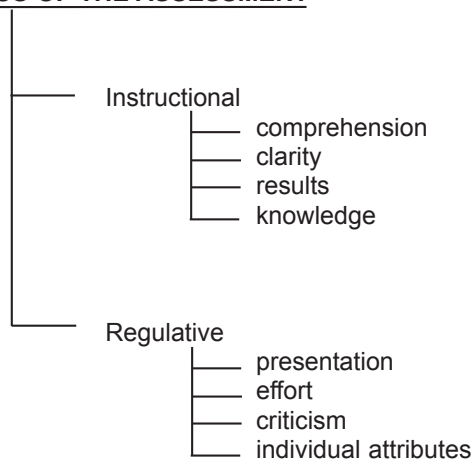


Network 5.2: Focus of assessment

The network has two sub-networks: **instructional** and **regulative**. **Instructional** codes those answers in which the focus of the assessment is on the acquisition of contents, cognitive processes, and skills. The categories that constitute **instructional** are: *comprehension*, *clarity*, *results* and *knowledge*. Whereas **regulative** groups those foci of the assessment that emphasise students' attitudes and discipline. **Regulative** has four categories: *presentation* refers to the order and tidiness of assignments and notebooks; *effort* refers to systematic work; *criticism* refers to certain political and ideological positions that some teachers expect students to have; *individual attributes* refer to some students' features such as socio-economic condition.

Network 5.2:

Focus of the assessment

FOCUS OF THE ASSESSMENT

CHAPTER 6

Network 6.1: CENS relation with the CI (Heads)

The network simply gives order to responses in terms of three levels of the external relation of the CENS with the CI: Accountability, Intellectual support and Material support. In **Accountability** the responses were coded for yes or no, and then in the positive option the strength of the accountability.

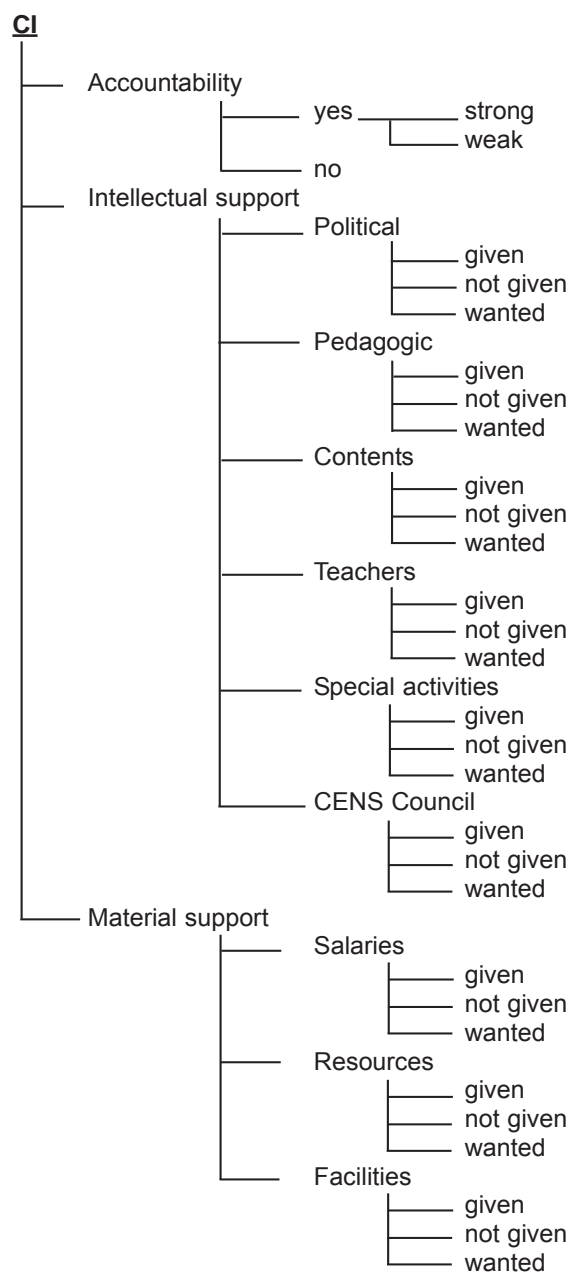
In **Intellectual support**, the next level of the sub-network defines different types of intellectual support: *Political*, refers to support to the CENS for example in terms of influence; *Pedagogic*, refers to whether the CI offers help about the forms of teaching; *Contents*, refers to whether the CI suggests contents to be taught; *Teachers*, refers to if the CI supplies the school with teachers who are members of the CI; *Special activities*, refers to whether the CI conducts some activities to the students which are not part of the curriculum; *CENS Council*, refers to participation of the CI in it.

In **Material support**, the categories are: *Salaries*, this is whether the CI pays some of the salaries of the staff, *Resources*, refers to teaching material, supplies for labs, etc.; and *Facilities*, which refers whether the school functions in a CI facility or in one given by the State.

The options for all the categories are defined as *Given*, *Not given*, *Wanted*.

Network 6.1:

CENS relation with the CI (Heads)

EXTERNAL RELATION WITH CI

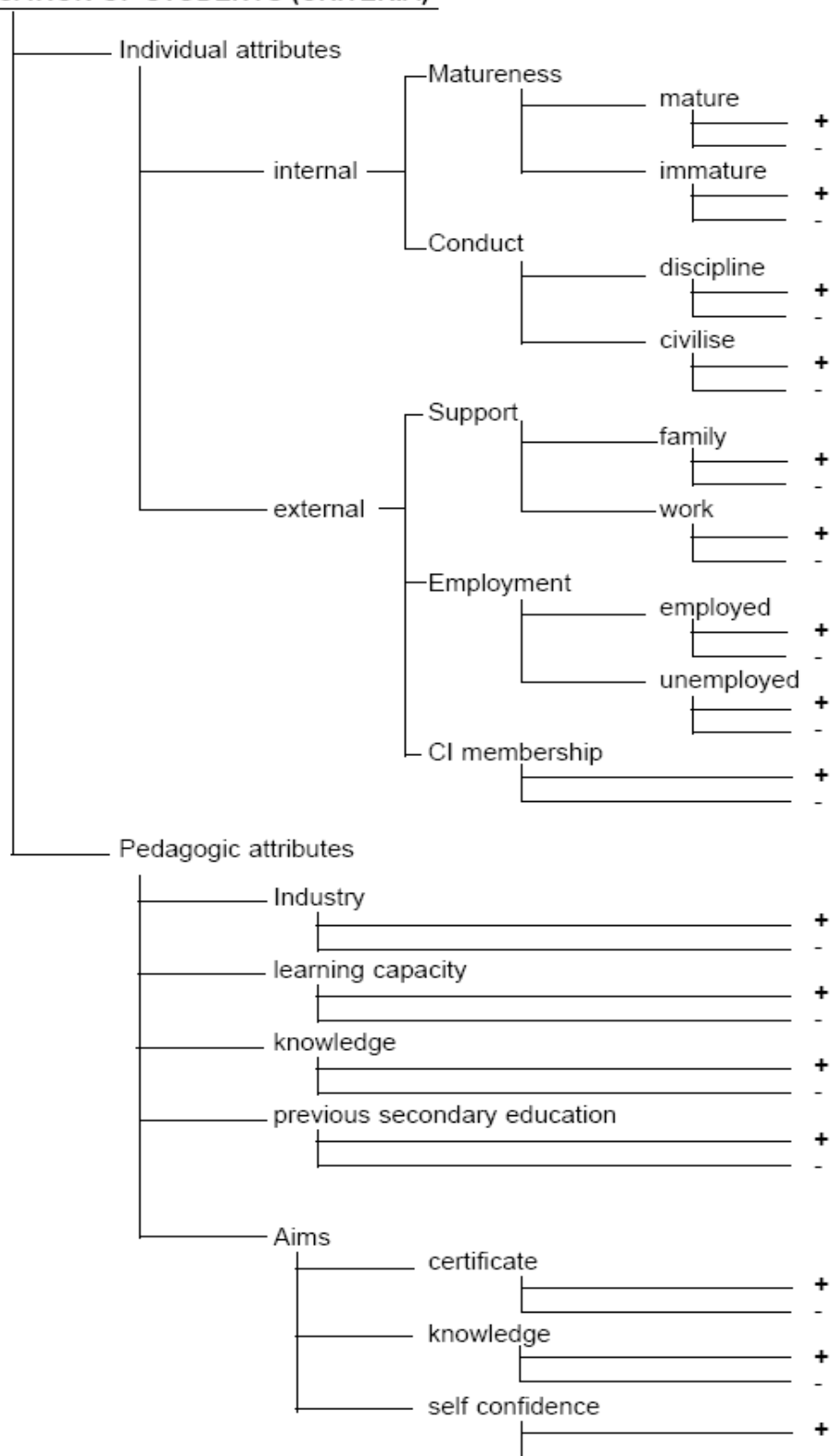
Network 6.2: Classification of students (Heads' criteria)

The network consists of two sub-networks: **individual attributes** and **pedagogic attributes**. **Individual attributes** is divided into two main categories: internal and external. We distinguish within internal: *matureness* and *conduct*. Further distinctions are made within *matureness*, “mature” / “immature”, either of which may be a positive (+) or a negative (-) attribute. Within *conduct* we distinguish “discipline” and “civilise”: the first refers to students’ ability to manage their time and to work in a systematic form, the option (+) refers to disciplined students and (-) refers to undisciplined students. The second, civilise, refers to manners, respect to authority, respect to rules, the option (+) refers to civilised students and (-) refers to uncivilised students. In *conduct* the value (-) also represents a negative opinion by the interviewee. The external category codes criteria for classifying students that lie in the social context of the students. Here three main distinctions are made. *Support* refers to assistance the students receive from their “family” or from their “work” context. In both cases (+) refers to the presence of the assistance and (-) refers to its absence. *Employment* refers to the students work status; the directors may see both options “employed” and “unemployed” as positive (+) or negative (-) attributes. *CI membership* refers to students’ relation to the CI; this may assume positive (+) or negative (-) value.

Pedagogic attributes are divided into four categories: *industry*, *learning capacity*, *knowledge*, *previous secondary education* and *aims*. In the first three categories the plus and minus signs refers to the presence or lack of the attribute. *Aims* have to do with the position of the students towards gaining *certificates*, towards *knowledge* and towards *self-confidence* each option may assume a positive (+) or negative (-) value for the directors.

Network 6.2:

Classification of students (Heads' criteria)

CLASSIFICATION OF STUDENTS (CRITERIA)

Network 6.3: Dropout sources

We constructed the network “dropout” (see below) to analyse the answers to the question *what kind of students are those who leave the school?* The network presents the teachers’ views about the causes of “dropping out”. The network has two main sub-networks: **CENS** and **students**. The sub-network **CENS** categorises the reasons for “dropping out” due to some feature of the CENS. The sub-network **students** categorises reasons for “dropping out” related to students’ features.

The sub-network **CENS** categorises those teachers’ responses that considered that “dropout” is due to features of the CENS. **CENS** has two categories: **criteria** and **transmission**. Criteria refer to the required standard of students’ performance. Transmission groups those teachers’ answers that considered the “dropout” due to the strong pacing of teaching and the high level of contents that some students are not able to follow. Both, *criteria* and *transmission*, may assume two values: strong (+) or weak (-). These two values refer to whether the effect is strong or weak.

The sub-network **students** is subdivided into two categories: **attributes** and **context**. Attributes categorises those answers which relate the dropping out to students’ features; whereas context categorises those answers which relate dropping out to some characteristics of the students’ social environment.

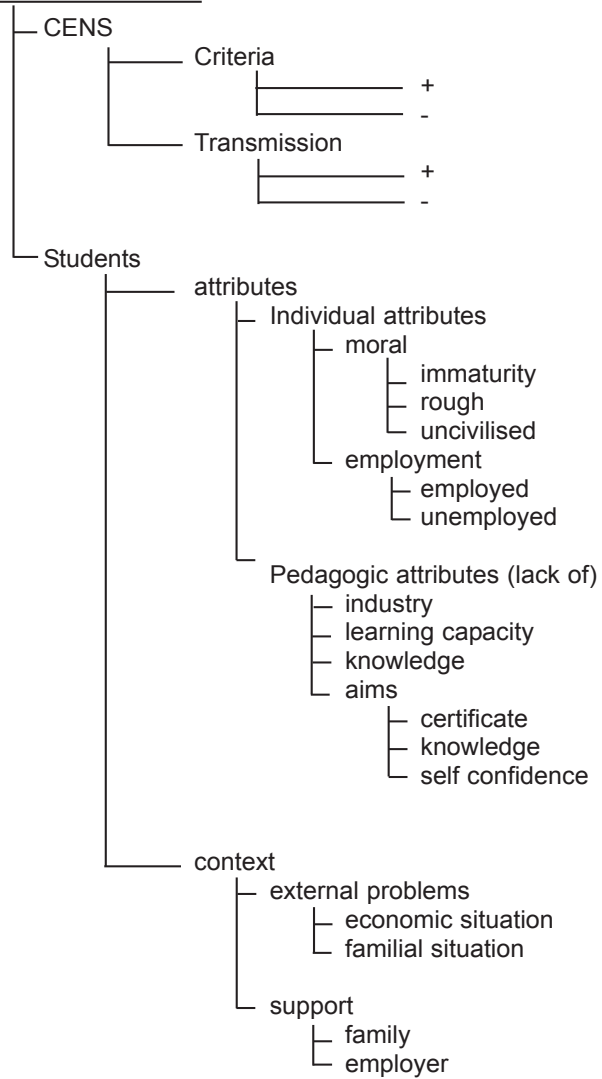
Attributes are divided into two subcategories: **individual attributes** and **pedagogic attributes**. Within **individual attributes** we distinguish *immaturity*, *uncivilised*, *rough* and *unemployment*. For some teachers *immaturity* is a ‘condition’ that does not “fit” students for the CENS. *Employment* refers to whether students are employed or not, what would be a reason for dropping out. *Uncivilised* refers to the absence of manners, lack of respect to authority and “bad” behaviour in classroom. *Rough* refers to students who are marginal and uneducated.

We distinguish within **pedagogic attributes** *industry*, *learning capacity*, *knowledge* and *aims* having to do with the position of the students towards gaining *certificates*, towards *knowledge* and towards *self-confidence*.

The category **context** is divided into two subcategories: **external problems** and **support**. Within **external problems** we distinguish those arising out of the *economic situation* and those problems arising out of the *familial situation*. In both cases the teachers identified the above as contextual not individual problems. Within *support* we distinguish lack of support either from the *family* or from the *employer*.

Network 6.3:

Dropout sources

DROPOUT SOURCE

CHAPTER 7

Network 7.1 and 7.2: Rationale / Effects of the CENS

As we can see the network has two main sub-networks: **instructional** and **regulative**. The sub-network **instructional** groups those responses referring to skills, instruction, knowledge (in terms of subjects/school knowledge, contents). The sub-network **regulative** groups those responses related to social relations, their moralisation and behaviour.

Sub-network instructional

This sub-network is divided into two categories: educationalist and instrumental. **Educationalist** refers to those rationales/effects that consider that education itself is what the CENS is giving or should give to the students; the “*telos*” of these rationales is education as such. This category has three options (each one is also divided accordingly to strong emphasis or weak emphasis): *quality*, which refers to the giving of high quality education to the students; *knowledge* refers to the function/effect of the school to deliver (in school terms) subject contents to the students; finally *basic skills* refers to the function/effect of the school to deliver basic skills (reading / writing skills, calculation skills). **Instrumental** refers to the school’s function/effect of transmitting tools to the students to enable them to have access to a specific occupational future. Instrumental is divided in three rationales/effects (each one may have a strong or weak emphasis): **work**, which refers to equipping the students to face the world of work. This subcategory is divided in two possible rationales/effects: *job* and *to improve students’ situation* in their current work. **Higher education** refers to equipping the students with tools for further education. **Public certificate** refers to the function/effect of the school in giving the students access to the secondary education public certificate.

Sub-network regulative

This sub-network includes those responses related to social relations, their moralisation and behaviour, is divided in three categories: **social**, **political** and **moral**.

Social

Social groups those rationales/effects that consider the function/effect of the school to directly affect the social life of the students and the community. This category is divided into two sub-categories: one focusing on the social action of the CENS with respect to students, **individual**, and the other focusing on the social action of the CENS with respect to the **community**.

The subcategory **individual** contains four possible rationales/effects: *communication*, *self-confidence*, *pastoral* and *opportunity*. *Communication* refers to the function/effect of the school on improving the forms and fluency of communication. This rationale has three contexts of possible realization: *family*, *peers* and *work*. The second possible rationale/effect is that the school creates *self-confidence* in the students, which as the other rationales could be given a strong or weak emphasis. *Pastoral* refers to the function/effect of the school as a caring space for the students. *Opportunity* refers to the CENS as creating possibilities for the students to have new experiences.

The second group of rationales/effects within the category **social** is **community**. Within this subcategory we distinguished: *integration* codes those answers that predicated that the school should be or is part of the community, and *action* codes those rationales/effects that considered that the CENS should act directly on its community.

Political

Some teachers reported that the CENS works as a **political action** of the CI or of the students. Here the CENS is an expression of the policy and strategy either of the CI or the students. The CENS may work as a **political resource** of the CI or of the students. Here the CENS is used as a tool to acquire more power. The category political is divided in two subcategories: **action** and **resource**, which have two options *CI* and *students*. The CENS may be a tool or a resource for political action of the *CI* or a tool or a resource for political action of the *students*.

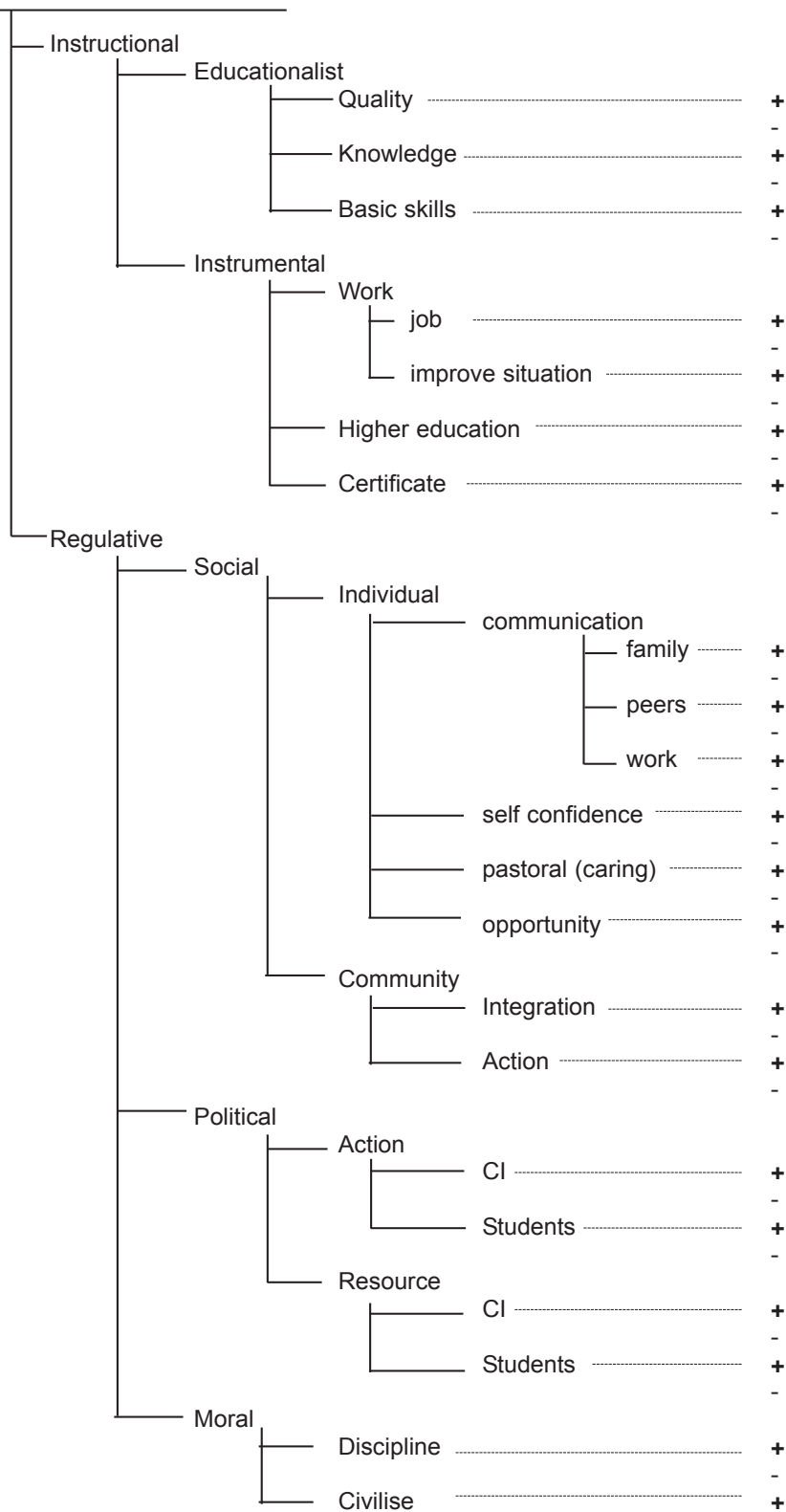
Moral

We found two kinds of responses that we categorised under the category **moral** which explicitly refers to the school as a moralising space where students acquire the “right” forms of conduct. Within moral one option is *discipline*, which refers to making the students work in terms of order, distribution and management of time. The other option is to *civilise* the students. This refers to the function/ effect of the CENS as a place where “rough” students, uneducated adults, become “civilised”, where students acquire manners, respect to authority, respect to rules, where students learn “how to behave in society”.

Network 7.1 and 7.2:

Rationale (R) / Effects (E) of the CENS

RATIONALE / EFFECTS



Network 7.3: Subject contribution (teachers)

The subject contribution of the teachers is described in the network below. The network is subdivided into two main sub-network: **instructional** and **regulative**. The sub-network **instructional** groups responses referring to general knowledge and work. The sub-network **regulative** groups those responses referring to social behaviour, domestic and civic.

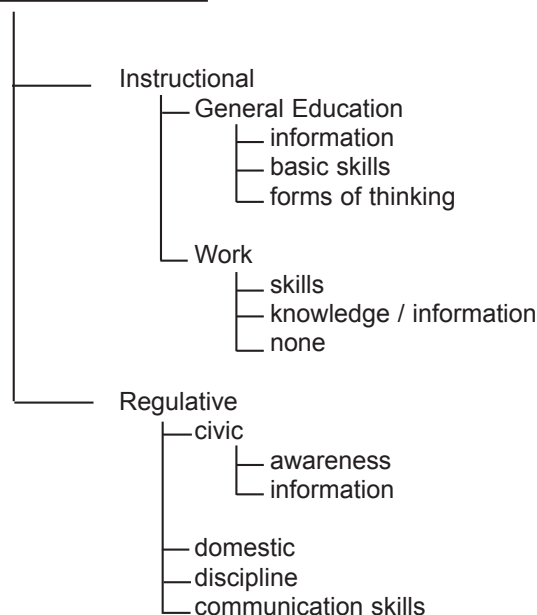
The sub-network **instructional** is divided into two categories: **general education** and **work**. General education includes responses, which consider that the contribution of the subject is basic instruction. Within this category we distinguish between: *information*, *basic skills* and *forms of thinking*. *Information* refers to general basic knowledge. *Basic skills* are directly related to reading, writing and basic mathematics. *Forms of thinking* refer to the transmission of forms of approaching and processing information. The category work groups answers referring to the subject's contributions to work and gives rise to three options: *skills*, *knowledge* and *none*. *Skills* refer to abilities directly connected to work and *information* refers to knowledge linked to work. We added the option *none* because some teachers answered that their subject does not contribute in any form to work.

The sub-network **regulative** contains four categories. *Domestic* categorises responses which relate the subject's contribution to the students' family life and their role in the family. *Discipline* refers to the students' ability to manage their time and to work in a systematic form. *Communication* refers to improvements in the form and fluency of oral communication. *Civic* groups responses related to citizenship for example the functioning of democratic institutions and the rights and duties of a citizen. This category has two options: *information* and *awareness*. *Information* refers only to the knowledge of laws. *Awareness* refers to those answers of teachers who consider that their subject makes the students conscious of their civil rights and of possibilities of living in democracy.

Network 7.3:

Subject contribution (teachers)

SUBJECT CONTRIBUTION



CHAPTER 8

Network 8.1 Network: improving achievements

The analysis of this question was done using the network shown below. This network has two first level options: YES and NO; where YES refers to teachers' answers that considered that something should be done to improve the achievements of the school and NO refers to those responses which indicated that nothing should be done because teachers considered that the school situation was adequate. The option YES is subdivided into two main sub-networks: **internal** and **external**. The sub-network **internal** categorises those responses that refer to the actions that should be done within the school. Whereas the sub-network **external** groups those answers that refer to problems to be solved "outside" the school.

Internal

This sub-network is divided into two categories: **instructional** and **institutional**. **Instructional** categorises those responses directly linked to transmission. This category contains four subcategories with their options. We distinguished within **instructional**: **streaming by capacity**, which refers to answers that consider that it is necessary to group students in order to have the same "level" of students in each class and therefore, in this way, having such homogeneity that "it would be easier to teach". **Extra-school activities** refer to activities such as going to the cinema or theatre or museums with students. Within **curriculum** further distinctions are made: *subject relation*, *distribution of time* and *new syllabi*. The option

subject relation refers to the teachers' opinion that there should be more linkage and co-ordination between the contents of different subjects horizontally (subjects of the same year) as well as vertically (subjects of different years). *Distribution of time* refers to re-distributing the time available for each subject. *New syllabi* refer to the need for updating or selecting more basic and useful contents of the syllabi. Finally the subcategory **teachers training** refer to the need to train teachers in *pedagogy* or in delivering to teachers specific updated *contents*.

The second category of the sub-network **internal** is **institutional**. This category codes those responses that refer to modifications at the institutional level in order to improve the school achievements. **Institutional** consists of five subcategories with their options. The first subcategory is **director's flexibility** which refers to responses of teachers who identify the need for a change in the director's form of management, not being "authoritarian", weakening the framing, in the sense of taking into account teachers' and students' opinions. The second subcategory is **staff communication**, which refers to the exchange of information amongst the staff about school issues such as students' situation, pedagogic issues. The third subcategory is **administration**, which refers to the need to reduce paper work of teachers and directors. The subcategory **council** refers to the functioning of the CENS council. Within **council**, the further distinctions are made: *problem solving*, which indicates that teachers consider that the council should operate to help to solve problems in the school, *participation*, which indicates that teachers require real decision power in the council. The subcategory **social relations** refer to the need for an improvement in the personal relationships between different actors: *between teachers*, *between students*, *between teachers and students*, *between the director and teachers*, *between the director and students* and *between the director and the CI*.

External

The sub-network **external** is subdivided into three categories: **time**, **students support** and **school support**. **Time** refers to the need for more time for both *teachers* and *students*. The category **students support** refers to the need for support by: *family*, *work* and *State*. In the first two cases, *family* and *work*, teachers considered that it was important for the students not to have to deal with oppositions to their studies. In the case of the *State* the teachers considered that the State should give scholarships to the students.

Finally the category **school support** refers to the help the school needed from two agencies: the *State* and the *CI*. In both cases the support could be *pedagogic* which refers to training for teachers and directors, guidelines, and the support given through *resources* (economic resources such as buildings, didactic resources, salaries).

Network 8.1:

Improving achievements (teachers)

IMPROVING ACHIEVEMENTS

